

Maclean's

BASEBALL MANIA

UNDER THE GUN

A close-up portrait of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. He is wearing a light blue button-down shirt under a white cable-knit sweater with a decorative blue and yellow braided strap over his shoulders. He has a serious expression and is looking slightly to the right. The background is a blurred green, suggesting an outdoor setting.

**The Prime Minister
Faces A Firestorm Over
Rewards To The
Tory Faithful**

**Prime Minister Brian Mulroney
Outside Of 24 Sussex**

39



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE SEPTEMBER 24, 1990 VOL. 103 NO. 39

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COVER

UNDER THE GUN

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's appointment of Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan to the Senate sparked intense public concern. The RCMP is investigating allegations of patronage against Buchanan's government, and Mulroney's action, at the end of a politically troubled summer, seemed certain to ensure a torrid reception for the Tories when Parliament resumes on Sept. 24. — 16



SPECIAL REPORT

A NORTHERN LOVE AFFAIR

This week, a Toronto Blue Jays fan will push through a fifty-thousand-mile solo baseball history, establishing an all-time major-league attendance record. The shocking rise in Blue Jay fortunes has ignited a baseball boom right across Canada—one that even inconsistent playing cannot cool. — 40



NATION

TAKING THE PRIZE

Manitoba's Conservative Premier Gary Filmon won the majority government that had eluded him in two earlier elections. Filmon succeeded by playing to his well-earned reputation as a competent economic manager capable of defending the province's interests against the federal Tory government. — 12





A Collapse Of Trust

Thus manner, there is a sense of hopelessness and pessimism in Canada, from Victoria to St. John's, that is profoundly disturbing and, at the same time, potentially challenging. Among responsible men and women, many of them holding positions of great influence in government or business, conversations turn repeatedly to basic issues of rationalism and the very future of Canada. It is an emotional and very personal questioning of the value of citizenship and of the price and possibility of maintaining it. The disillusionment is fostered by an awe-inspiring collapse of confidence and trust in politicians and the once-heralded institutions and systems that they operate. The uneasy balance of the Mulroney-Lalor constitutional negotiations is viewed as a disaster. But it extends far beyond that to a general fury at the prospect of a value-added tax, the GST, to the inability of governments to deal effectively with Indian demands, and to what more and more people refer to as the collapse of free trade. Last week, perhaps unwittingly, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney admitted that anger to an extent that can only be guessed at when he appointed Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan to the Senate.

Mulroney, of course, has every right to appoint any "they"—or anyone else, for that matter—whom he chooses in his effort to sustain the power of the Liberal-dominated Senate. And Buchanan is undoubtedly a politician of stature from a region that is too little heard from. But the premier's government has been ridden with scandal and he is under scrutiny in a current RCMP investigation into government corruption. In a better world, he would enjoy—fully with justification—the presumption of innocence. But nothing about politics is fair. And for Canada's disaffected voters, Mulroney's action smacked of a deliberate provocation.

There is still time for the Prime Minister to engage all Canadians in a constructive discussion of these issues; they would likely be receptive. But the clock is ticking.

John Doe



Cover writers Glen Alloré and Bruce Wellner discontent and a general fury across the land

Maclean's

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YOU TAKE ENOUGH RISKS DURING THE DAY, DON'T TAKE A CHANCE OVERNIGHT.

LETTERS

ASHAMED CANADIANS

As a Canadian, I am ashamed of what happened at Oka ("The fury of Oka," Cover, Sept. 10). The symbolism of army tanks with gun barrels at the Mohawks as powerful as it is appalling and showed how "helpless" the different levels of government are in dealing with the aboriginal issue. If the French-Canadians are a distinct society—and they are—we finally have to recognize that our natives are two—both distinct and a society.

R. Mink,
St. Thomas, Ont.

There is tremendousness when a Francophone population apparently wanting sovereignty, or at least distinct society status, is not understood or tolerated similar Mohawk aspirations. The story is further enlarged by the sight of the Canadian army muzzing Quebecers and Mohawks from each other. Will Quebecers who screamed for army intervention at the Murore Bridge understand that Canada's reaction if a sovereign Quebec ever tries to deny Canada access to the St. Lawrence Seaway?

Mary-Clara Collins,
Campbell River, B.C.

Finally, Canada's native people have captured the attention of the media. The issues are familiar: the right to land and self-government. The approach is different: vibrant colonization. Natives have been extremely characterized in the guise of the Mohawk Warriors. Their leadership is not composed of warriors with guns, but of people with dignity, patience and gentleness. All Canadians would benefit from seeing the faces of these native people on the cover and knowing more about the evolution of their full participation in society.

Mary Scott,
Vancouver

Your article quotes Mulroney as saying that his government has "spent more than any other government in the world" spends on native peoples. That is simply a restatement of the problem: Native people do not want token monetary amounts given to them for something as easily taken from them. Instead, the government should be working with, not on, native people to solve issues far bigger than being given pieces of land with little real control over them.

Gary Roth,
Toronto

THE MARK OF A MAN

I disagree with the way you took my review as on Mikhail Gorbachev out of context ("But grammar takes back," Opening Notes,



Oka viewpoint: powerful symbolism

July 30). Yes, Gorbachev does make grammar mistakes, but he is also one of the few Russian leaders able to idly address the people directly, rather than read from a prepared text. Unpolished language is not a threat to a world-famous leader, but bad journalism may be a menace to a good-quality magazine.

Marcus Goldstein,
Montreal

LACK OF ACCOMMODATION

In "The very tourists" (Skenario, Sept. 30), you say that along with tourism and a \$30-million ad budget, there has been "simple accommodation" for travellers in Canada. Wrong! Via Rail's ability to accommodate was reduced by a whopping two-thirds, including the recently sold-out transcontinental trains heavily patronized by U.S. visitors. There is a widespread belief that the only remaining way to see Canada is by bus, which is less than ideal to contemplate.

Raymond Henson,
Ottawa

It is not only high prices for gasoline and lodging that are keeping the tourists away from Canada. We have the facilities to place and fabulous places to go, but efficient and courteous service, along with treating the customer with respect, is all too often absent. Until that happens, foreign tourists will continue to stray and Canadians will continue to flock abroad in droves.

R. McLaughlin de Mont,
Ottawa

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should include name, address and telephone number. Write to: *Openings*, c/o Letters, The Editor, Maclean's magazine, Maclean House Bldg., 777 Hwy. St., Toronto, Ont. M5S 1A7.

PASSAGES

DEB: The leader of the 1932 Canadian expedition to Mount Everest, William (Bill) March, 66, Stambaugh-born March, is assistant professor of outdoor pursuits at the University of Calgary, was hiking with a group of students near Lawrence, B.C., when he collapsed. A friend and colleague at the University of Calgary, Murray Tait, said that March died of a seizure and that as surgery had failed to provide any more information. Tait added that March had not been taking drugs the time he and Bill Atchuk, who was also a doctor, Charles Laurie Shrivast, who along with Patrick Morrow made it to Everest's peak during the 1932 expedition, and that "without March, it wouldn't have happened."



APPROACH: Conductor Charles Dutoit, 53, is the past of programming director of one of the most important symphony orchestras in France, the Paris-based National Orchestra of France. Since 1997, Dutoit has been the artistic director of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra, a position he will keep. Dutoit plans to spend about 23 weeks a year in Montreal and the rest of his time in Paris. He replaces the current conductor of the Paris orchestra, Lorin Maazel.

BOOM: To actor and director Dennis Hopper, 54, and his 23-year-old wife director and choreographer Katherine La Nasa, a boy, Henry Lee Hopper. Hopper is known for his roles in such movies as *Easy Rider* and *Blue Velvet*. He recently completed directing *The Hot Spot*, which is due for release next month.

SEPARATED: Television personality Barbara Walters, 66, and her husband, Marvin Adelson, a businessman. They married in 1980 and had mentioned a comatose relationship. Adelson is based in Los Angeles and Walters, cohost of *60 Minutes*, is based in New York City.

DECORATED: By French Minister of Culture Jack Lang, with France's top award for excellence in the arts, Jack Nicholson, 53, Lang cited Nicholson's "unique cynicism" and "brave smile" as he named the American superstar a commander of Arts and Letters. Nicholson, who was in Paris to promote his latest film, *The Thin Red Line*, attended the ceremony with Rebecca Brownard, 36, his girlfriend and the mother of his five-month-old baby daughter, Lorraine.

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LETTERS

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE?

I find myself in a bit of a quandary. I agree with all those who condemn Saddam Hussein's attack on Kuwait—it is indefensible, naked aggression. I'm a defender of the status quo. World, page 39. But is what was it significantly different from the United States' conquest of Grenada, the United States' intervention in Vietnam, the support of the contra mercenaries in their attacks on the Nicaraguan people, or the invasion of Panama?

Frank Stronach
Kelowna, B.C.

Does pride go before the fall? As you point out, Iraq President Saddam Hussein obviously sees himself as a present-day Nebuchadnezzar riding over a neo-Babylonian empire. Before he establishes the ancient imperial city and boasts too loudly of his own power and egoism, he should read the biblical account of Nebuchadnezzar's fall. History does repeat itself.

Don David Dyle
Abilene, Tex.

When Saddam Hussein sent his troops into Iran a decade ago, he was militarily and technologically supported by the same coalition—namely Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union—that are now ganging up on him. If he is such a risker now, as U.S. propaganda wants us to believe, how could he have been an OK guy then? Probably because the United States was then as capable of lapping the Kuwaiti government in Tehran without a single American casualty. The eight-year limbo war caused the deaths of more than a million Iraqis and Iranians. As for the billions of dollars of damage the war caused, well, that was good for business in the West. The United States also alleges that it favors democratic governments, but it supports the autocratic, oligarchical government of Saudi Arabia as well, recently, that of Kuwait. U.S. hypocrisy knows no bounds, but the saddest part is that so few people recognize it.

John J. Molinaro
Tulsa, Ok.

STRETCHING THE HYPOTHESIS

The fact that a percentage of homosexuals are left-handed is uncorrelational and not enough to have even the most suggestive hypothesis as to "This leads here etc." Since, Avg. G. Scientists are wasting their time and energy with such irrelevant research. Accept the differences in the human race and perhaps peace can be achieved, and we can concentrate our efforts on curing the sick and regenerating our dying planet.

Donald Nikolova
Ottawa



Nasser: 'Indefensible, naked aggression'

Was the sample size of this survey actually only 70 people? If so, it is no wonder that the finding did not fit the views for the general population. Colleen Knox
Port Caplesham, B.C.

After reading "The hands have it," one is left to wonder what future in-depth studies will unearth in the works to come. Being left-handed is a predominantly right-handed society has always been a nuisance to a degree, such as using scissors and can openers that are designed for the convenience of right-handed folk. Left-handers must even adapt to reading and writing from right to left. Perhaps all this adjusting has been putting several strains on lefties. Just we now to put up with the strain of more psychological and biological studies, or more conclusions that the environment is not necessarily irrelevant, or even that biology is not irrelevant?

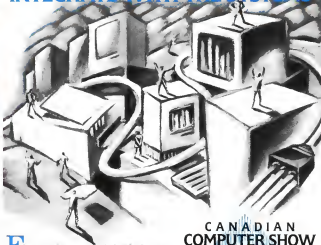
Robert Peterson
Neukirchen, Ont.

WHITHER VARIETY

While Peter Newman's criticism a while back of Cople Wells raised the question of a lot of people (myself included), I must admit that I have reticently to quarrel with his assessment of Victor Rice ("Victor Rice gives capitalism a bad name," Business World, Aug. 27). I would disagree a bit on his terminology—"Victor Rice gives capitalism a bad name." It would be more appropriate to say that "Rice makes the capitalist image even worse." Capitalism as it is currently practiced is certainly not overburdened with respectability, as many Eastern Europeans are just finding out.

Philip Lindholm
Windsor, Sask.

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LETTERS

AN OPEN-AND-SHUT CASE

Regarding the problem of the "sack building syndrome" ("University buildings," Technology, Aug. 13), Elie Fager suggests that "it will take a complete change in our philosophy and thinking about buildings." Why not have buildings where the windows could be opened?

Mary Roe,
North Bedford, Sask.

THE HIGH-VOLTAGE LINK

By limiting its study of potential electromagnetic health hazards to leukemia, the federal government is indeed "leading the scope of its findings" ("Treason in the air," Health, Aug. 6). Decades of statistical studies in the United States and Europe have shown that exposure to electrical fields has produced much higher than normal levels of epilepsy, meningitis, primary brain tumors, ovarian and testicular cancers, miscarriages and birth defects. Throughout each study in the United States, the power companies sought to deny any possible link between their product and their suffering & efforts—a wholesale job renaissance of that carried out by the tobacco industry. This is a national, not to admit culpability would result in lawsuits that would affect

the price of electricity to all of us. It is good to know that Canada is finally catching up, but it is clearly a case of too little, too late.

Verity Robb,
Pickering, Ont.

If there is a link between high-voltage power lines and leukemia, most power utility plants will deny it all the way to the bank. When Manitoba Hydro was planning its altered 500 kilovolt line to Meteston, officials asserted that the electrical field from the line was no more dangerous than our household appliances. But none of our appliances will light up a fluorescent tube at any distance, while a high-voltage line will light up a tube just 30 m away. The average citizen has no recourse when high-voltage lines are strung beside residences, through school yards and playgrounds, or beside industrial complexes.

Joan Y. Peters,
Bridgeway, Man.

INHUMANE TRADITIONS

Call riping and other inhumane events at Credo are something cowboys have been discouraging for years ("A burdensome battle," Law, July 30). They have forwarded numerous petitions against events that give rodeo a bad name, but have been ignored by rodeo boards, largely because of tradition and public demand. Other events may appear cruel

to squealed observers, but statistics show instances of injury to livestock are rare.

Brent Thompson,
Beauf, Alta.

A WINNING STYLE

While Audrey McLaughlin's performance may be viewed as "muted" ("McLaughlin's mission," Canada, Aug. 13), I feel encouraged to read of a leader who is "known to seek a wide range of opinions" and "who deliberately downplays her public position as leader." As we witness the harrowing events of Oka and Koorat, can we believe in anything other than McLaughlin's "consensual style"?

Joan E. Beron,
Toronto

TIGHTENING BIG BELTS

If "Slowdown: a luxury lost" (Business, Aug. 30) was to generate sympathy for apprehensive Canadians, I think you are sadly mistaken. If the purpose was to inform us of the slowdown trend in the economy, you might have chosen instead to report on the increased number of food banks and homeless citizens in this country, rather than describing how people like Judy Corran are "tightening their belts" by wearing last year's designer clothes.

Kathleen Mark,
North Bay, Ont.



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MEMBERS is published weekly by

Macleod's National Canadian Publishing, Macleod's National Publishing

111 Bayview Avenue, Suite 1111, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A5

Telephone: (416) 461-1111, Telex: 461-1111, Fax: (416) 461-1111

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OPENING NOTES

Behind Conservative scenes, a police rearguard action, and Saddam Hussein gets an unlikely fan letter

SECRETS IN A TORY CLOSET

Maritime Conservatives credit the party's upstart in advertising campaign with helping them to win a majority in last week's provincial election. But Marlene's fans learned that this Tories produced at least two negative ads in work, although they were never broadcast. The ads that did air ignored the Liberals and the war and instead portrayed Premier Gary Filmon as a companion, caring leader. One ad showed him paddling a canoe while promoting his party's environmental program. Another had him promoting the Tories' job-creation policies while he toured a Windsor garment factory. By contrast, the



Filmon with wife Jeanette "otherhalfed"

Liberals ran handbitting ads that attacked Filmon. The most frequently cited commercial showed Prime Minister Brian Mulroney manipulating a Filmon puppet, an attempt to link the provincial Tories with the unpopular federal leader. For his part, Filmon publicly criticized the Liberals during the campaign for running negative TV spots. But a Tory ad swirling in the wings showed Filmon watching the Liberal's puppet commercial, then clicking the TV set off and saying to viewers, "I'm fed up with negative ads." According to Tory insiders, that ad, as well as another that portrayed the Conservatives were already heading for a majority. And as new Filmon staff member put it, both ads were "otherhalfed" and destroyed immediately after the Tory victory.

Chanel raises a stink over a name

One of France's most renowned perfume-makers as entangled in a money legal battle over what it claims is a historic infringement of copyright. Last December, Sandrine Kientz of Villiers-en-Lux, about 110 km east of Paris, sued her newborn daughter, Chanel because, she says, the "just the sound" of it. But when she wrote to the Paris headquarters of the fragrance and fashion company asking about the usage of the word, Chanel's lawyers took legal action against local officials who had registered the child's name, accusing them of oversteering their authority. Spokesman for the company, co-founded by Gabrielle (Coco) Chanel in 1914, insist that it owns all rights to the Chanel name. Declared a company representative: "We don't intend to let this commodity be trademarked or handled."

Over the years, the company has spent millions to guard against copyright infringement. But the current case is the first to involve the use of Chanel as a first name. Sandrine: "The company is ridiculous. They must be doing it for the publicity." Though a may just give Chanel a bad name.



Baby Chanel's fragrant legal battle

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RIGHT WHERE IT HURTS

Police across Canada are fed up—and they are not going to take it sitting down. A Canadian Police Association survey of working conditions, which will be released in November, found that the main complaint involved needs in petrol cars. Association vice-president André Nadeau said that many officers suffer back pain after spending long hours in seats that do not provide enough support. The seats also sag and become deformed because the officers who use them come in all shapes and sizes. Said Nadeau: "Different-sized people make different impressions."

AN UNHOLY WAR OVER 'ST. RALPH'

Over the years, U.S. consumer advocate Ralph Nader has attacked hundreds of unsafe products. But his latest target poses a danger to Nader's own reputation. In the current case of Volvo's former Marlene's bus, now under Peter Dinklage's name as Nader's much-publicized friend of liberty. Titled "St. Ralph and his web site," the article contains Nader's claim that he lives on only \$10,000 a year, and says that he needs to live in a state near his office, but on a \$3.5 million Washington house.

Nader's attack



Nader threatening legal action

Nader is supported by lawyers who make suits using computers, often using research dug up by Nader's organization. But Nader said Marlene's that trial lawyers provide less than five per cent of his donations. And he accused Volvo of trying to hurt the most vulnerable, which opposed Nader's efforts to help build a California law banning automobile insurance cover for drivers, according to the association. "That's nonsense, believe me," But Nader added that now it is his turn to consider legal action.

A run on the Legion

Every year, about 65,000 people from all over the globe apply to join France's Foreign Legion, one of the most famous fighting units in the world. Usually, foreigners make up about 45 per cent of the Legion's manpower and on other French citizenship after five years of duty. Now many of these would-be legionnaires are disillusioned. Western Post soldiers (by itself, nearly a third of the more than 1,000 men who according to signing up this year come from Eastern Europe, particularly from Poland and Hungary). Until recently, Eastern Europeans have represented only 39 per cent of the 6,000 soldiers who make up the 15th regiment. But French officials say that such restrictions on travel have been eased in former Soviet bloc countries. Eastern Europeans are more available. A legion officer in charge of recruitment also said that the Eastern Europeans made good legionnaires because their experience of life under Communist rule had accustomed them to bearing collective discipline. "They understand of living in groups that means Frenchmen," declared Lt.-Col. Jean-François Leclercq. "I'm not judging a system, but simply saying it allows people adapt to our needs."

Legionnaire discipline



Legionnaire discipline

GARLIC AND GOOD TASTE

City officials in Regina have a welcome report for large female musicians: they will not be prosecuted if they perform in public while wearing shorts. Reggae is among several Canadian cities recently joined by U.S. author Robert Palmer in Leamy Lake. According to Palmer, it is illegal in the Saskatchewan capital for a short-skirted woman weighing more than 300 lb. to play a stringed instrument. Said Dave Madden, a music business in Regina: "I've never heard of the law, but I know it isn't enforced." A similar case of city indecency prevails in Winnipeg, where police no longer enforce an existing statute prohibiting citizens from attending concerts within four hours of seeing garlic.

RED LIGHTS, SELLERS' BLUES

Across Canada, the number of houses sold has fallen by an average of 33.7 per cent in the past year, according to the Canadian Real Estate Association. For many would-be sellers, the slump is more than a source of financial hardship. U.S. psychologist and author Dr. Joyce Brothers says that homeowners view their property not only as a major investment but also as a reflection of their personal taste. When they discover that no one wants to purchase the property, they suffer frustration, anxiety and depression. In fact, Brothers says that the symptoms are similar to those common among prostitutes who fail to attract customers. She adds: "It takes a lot of self-searching to put your home up for sale, just as it would to become a call girl." Where you find out about your home or that needy needs your body, you're going to feel hurt."



Brothers: "It's a lot of self-searching"

your home or that needy needs your body, you're going to feel hurt."

A love-in for Saddam Hussein

The Manchester Guardian Weekly has a requested digest of Le Monde in Paris. The Guardian, based in London, and The Washington Post. But the Weekly's Sept. 16 edition included an unlikely letter to the editor praising Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein for helping "to liberate women" and "criticizing the world's eagerness to 'demonize' him. The letter was signed "Richard H. Hendrick, Chairman of The Toronto Star, and a spokesman for Hendrick said that he had not written the letter. A prank in print on behalf of a man who needs all the friends he can get.



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AN AMERICAN VIEW



The bloodlust of potential war

BY FRED ARONSON

American young men and women are pouring into Saudi Arabia as though King Fahd were holding some fabulous late-summer rock concert, but this is no party that won't be over by dawn, and there's no way of telling when the kids will finally straggle home, or in what condition.

Since Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2, the United States has sent 100,000 GIs overseas—the largest American troop deployment since Vietnam. President George Bush says that we must stand firm against the treachery of Saddam Hussein, while Secretary of State James Baker speaks solemnly of long-term security commitments. Already, the tab is running about \$2 billion a month, and even though our rich Arab allies are chipping in, we're bound to spend plenty. Forget that price divided, friends the defence industry loves.

So what are the American people seeing about all this—about the boys and girls in the desert, about the administration's objectives, about the Iraqi expense, about the inherent futility of the whole effort? Well, let's put it this way: we are being very polite. We are supporting our President. We are helping his leaders. We are rallying around the flag. We are being exceedingly good Americans.

The girls show Bush with both rings, as might have been expected. When old fellows and young men get to generous donations, the rest of us get wobbly or loose and hazy or mad. Never mind that in this case there isn't a democracy to preserve or that Saudi Arabia, for which the President asks our troops to die, remains a brutal oligarchy as oblivious to modern conventions that it favors belching in a state of social unrest.

Al, but there is something accessible about those Mancuso shots of jet fighters trawling empty skies, or of fighters trawling empty seas, or of tanks rolling from the belly of the big transport planes, of the military trawling through burning sunsets, gas clouds in the sky.

Fred Aronson is a writer with Monday in New York.

Who will shout hoorah! when the body count begins? How important will Persian Gulf politics and the price of high-test seem then?

From the vantage point of a comfy living room, this is truly magnificent stuff.

We have had the usual run of big tale that accompanies a well-publicized military exercise—the sort of commentary that assumes American invincibility and the prerogative of our leaders to do as they see fit. "We should go in there and bomb them and teach 'em a lesson," says the 18-year-old New Yorker "We should take this money we're making, let's use 'em."

Others are beset by the issue of petroleum, and no wonder. Middle East crude is becoming mighty expensive and could get worse. Sharp prices at the pump deeply offend the American public—absolutely make us twitch. As a troop convoy passed through northern Georgia, citizens waved signs imploring, "Get their gas and kick their ass." Get their gas, indeed. We have our Eisenhower and Kennedy to consider, our Eisenhower and Roosevelt and double-croix Canines. Soldiers Hussein please note: stop us from crying, you're in for a bruise!

Having the Iraq president ask us much of a challenge, anyway. The Washington-based bureau might as well Middle East. Bush calls Hussein's government "one of the most brutal and repressive regimes now in power," and,

if speaking, the group's statement may be proven.

Hussein used the threat weapons against his own people during the Iran-Iraq war. He is very big on intimidation, unbridled arrest and summary execution. He has a penchant for both close phrasing, taking particular pleasure in exhortations of the masses and condemnation of the selfish. In our cackles television performance, he sat with Westerners determined Baghdad and tried to show his good nature by pushing the nose of a little British boy. The kid looked ready to bite Uncle Sam's in the face but, smart fellow, thought better of it. There are reports that Hussein once tortures children.

Though surely inspired, we are foolish to cast this man as comic-book villain. Grains of truth as he has an impressive following in the Arab world. Hussein is revered for strong living standards, improving health care, installing girls—and staying clear of the cash drawer. Yes, Hussein discussed his as the "Body of Baghdad." "Audacious and ruthless," against the efforts of Yusef. But then not many kids in Baghdad consider Hussein and Time essential reading. Might be something to keep in mind.

At least for now, we don't want to deal with the complexities of Saddam Hussein or the implications of our Middle East posture. Most, so-called politicians are saying that we have no choice but to keep going, and their constituents agree. President Bush is looking severe and square-jawed and the underlying action is that we'll close-book oil. Saddam if the shooting starts. There's those Americans who can hardly wait.

Unlike our brothers in Grenada, Libya and Panama, though, an Iraq showdown wouldn't be a lulu. Hussein has a million soldiers and a fierce reputation. Are we prepared to take the losses a protracted desert assault would entail? Who will cheer hoorah! when the body count begins? How important will Persian Gulf politics and the price of high-test seem then? Anyone doubting the potential for brawling had best ponder a White House rumor claiming full-scale military forces for Middle East casualties. Soldiers honor guards and medical units are being sent to the front. We're preparing a U.S. official. The feeling was that if it turned out all-out combat, there would be too many casualties.

Despite the perf, victims of desert, so the best bet would be a low-key war, a few in the air. Confrontations worry about global environmental, liberals about anomaly. Neither doubt that Saddam Hussein must be checked. But, say critics, the United Nations is the outfit for such dangerous stuff. "Why do we always have to do it by ourselves?" asked Senator Dianne Feinstein, a Democratic House, who favors a 200,000-percentage force.

Why? Because searching for peace isn't near the fun as holding for war and, robust and newly, Americans are not inclined towards quiet diplomacy. We like action, excitement, conflict and resolution. Surely, then, it is fortunate that our nature is such. Just as before, Saddam has returned. Pains of serious violence have about, we catch the big game this Sunday and tell Bush to bring the troops home!



Manitoba's Filmon with wife Janice (left); Carstairs in defeat; Doer (below) distance from Ottawa, focus on his worth

CANADA

TAKING THE PRIZE

For Manitoba's Conservative Premier Gary Filmon, the outcome amounted to political freedom. With his majority victory in the election last week, Filmon finally gained his independence from the Liberal party and its leader, Sharon Carstairs, which for two years had plagued up Filmon's minority regime. But Carstairs, in turn, edged the national prominence that she gained after taking the Liberals from a close-held in the provincial legislature to official opposition status in the 1988 election. In her fight for change to the March 1990 constitutional accord, Carstairs, in her tireless and driven, became a symbol of provincial political defiance. But in June, after Carstairs accepted a modified version of the accord, her own popularity began to slide. Another week, after a 35-day campaign, Filmon broke out of his own shadow June hours before the polls closed, a relaxed and smiling premier gathered a circle of close advisers on a downtown street to pose for a souvenir photograph. Following Barbara Blagden, his trusted communications director, Filmon glanced at her over his left shoulder and said, "I want a picture with my lady in red."

Six hours later, Manitoba voters gave Filmon a narrow majority, which had ruled his

TORY GARY FILMON ROUTS HIS LIBERAL RIVAL TO WIN A NARROW MAJORITY IN MANITOBA'S GENERAL ELECTION

in two previous elections. With his party capturing 30 of the province's 57 seats, the victory was a personal triumph for a politician whose critics had widely depicted as a dull and weak leader. The Tory campaign played directly to Filmon's newfound reputation as a competent economic manager capable of defeating Macdonald's interests against Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's highly unpopular federal government. Meanwhile, the New Democrats replaced the Liberals in the official opposition, winning 26 seats—up from 13—largely because of party leader Gary Doer's aggressive campaign aimed at bringing traditional vote

sters back into the party's fold. Both the Tories and now gained at the expense of Carstairs' Liberals, who retained just seven of their previous 21 seats after a campaign devoted mainly to attacking Tory economic policies. Despite his dim, three-time edge, Filmon evidently told supporters, "A majority is a majority is a majority."

With that, he appeared set to lead the province's economy. Indeed, the premier used his victory—just an upset a week earlier by the now in neighboring Ontario, which elected business leaders there—to reassure voters that Manitoba is "open for business." But he also pledged not to depart from the cooperative spirit that he was forced to adopt as the leader of a minority government, and which opened paths to him in the style that voters now desired. For one thing, Filmon undertook to continue seeking all-party consensus on constitutional matters. But the province's new political alignment and worsening economic climate may make it difficult to maintain that approach. Declared Doer: "Filmon will have to do more than talk about the economy—he will have to do it."

In contrast to Doer's combative tone during the campaign, Filmon attributed much of his

success to the decision to resist demands from many Tory activists to attack the older parties. Instead, the campaign emphasized the premier's moderate leadership. The party's \$300,000 TV advertising blitz included 13 different ads that highlighted the 48-year-old premier's energy and vigor. One ad on the party's environmental policy showed Filmon hiking—in a scene that he borrowed from a member of his staff he another, he played basketball with his two sons. Adams also persuaded Filmon to drop his long-standing objection to talking about his background as the son of Eastern European immigrants who settled in Winnipeg's working-class North End. Said Biggie, who helped produce the ads: "Gary is able to humanize what many Manitobans perceive to be a cold and impersonal party."

That approach undermined Filmon's re-



As much as March Lake strengthened Filmon's position, it also contributed to Carstairs' fall from grace. After being the accord's fiercest opponent, her late decision to support the amended agreement—followed by her acknowledgment that she had used transmitters and had continued questioning the deal—led to the Ontario negotiations—appeared to damage her credibility among Manitobans. The issue on which she had built her reputation became a liability, and Carstairs' once-phenomenal personal popularity crumbled. In an Angus Reid Group poll, conducted Sept. 3 and 4, only 22 per cent of respondents said Carstairs would make the best prime minister, down from 51 per cent who favored Filmon.

The Liberals' Toronto-

marketable evolution in public perception from an uncertain leader to a confident mediator of Manitoban interests. The evolution began when he took over Carstairs' main issue opposition to the March Lake accord, which was deeply unpopular in Manitoba. Once a supporter of the agreement, Filmon reversed his position in December, 1988, in response to Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's decision to pass a multiracial new language law in his province. By last January, Tory polls showed that the majority of Manitobans considered Filmon, not Carstairs, to be the leader best qualified to handle the issue.

Filmon gained more support in June, when he backed Mulroney for sovereignty and rights during the First Ministers' marathon closed-door sessions on the Constitution. Although he initially consented to try to pass an amended agreement, his status appeared to grow when he rejected Mulroney's plans to try to force out Mr. Ralph Harper, a Cree, who used procedural tactics in the legislature to prevent a vote on the accord. Self Winnipeg-based pollster Angus Reid: "The events in June were the single most important thing in his career. In one week, he worked away a career's worth of dislike that he was a spin."

After Filmon launched the campaign on Aug. 7, he continued to distance himself from Mulroney and the federal Tories—whose popularity in Manitoba has dropped to 10 per cent, according to an Angus Reid Group poll conducted in July. Members of Filmon's campaign still avoided any references to the Conservative party, answering the phrase with "The Filmon team." The party's name was barely visible at the bottom of campaign posters. And organizers held high-profile fundraisers from Manitoba to stay away. Federal Election Minister John Egge told friends that it was the first Manitoba election in 40 years in which he had not been involved.

National Notes

A SURPRISE DEFICIT

Robert Nixon, treasurer for Ontario's outgoing Liberal government, confirmed that the province would have to shoulder an estimated \$70-million budget deficit this year. The assessment contrasts sharply with the \$23-million budget surplus that Nixon had projected prior to the campaign for the Sept. 8 provincial election, which the Liberals unexpectedly lost to the MPP. Nixon blamed the projected deficit primarily on federal government cuts, including an 8.5 per cent interest rate policy.

LOSING A MINISTER

Tony Bennett, Quebec's labor and revenue minister, resigned from Premier Robert Bourassa's cabinet in a gesture of opposition to the province's tax proposals. Over the next two years, Quebec plans to replace its sales tax with a more wide-reaching goods and services tax.

BACK TO THE FUTURE

New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna appointed a new-member commission to determine what kind of Canada New Brunswickers want.

A SPRING ELECTION?

British Columbia's Social Credit Premier Wilson Vander Zalm said that he will likely put off calling a provincial election until the spring. Vander Zalm, who faces a strong NDP opponent, said that he wanted to assess the MPP's victory in Ontario and the strong gains that it made in last week's Manitoba election.

COMING ON STRONG

According to a public opinion poll by the Ipsos/Quebecor Opinion pollster, 38.5 per cent of Quebecers want Premier Robert Bourassa to be the province's leader. But Lucien Bouchard edged out Parti Quebecois Leader Jacques Parizeau for second place, receiving 34.5 per cent support compared with Parizeau's 27. Former federal environment minister Bouchard now leads the Bloc Quebecois, a seven-member group of independent, non-aligned Quebecers.

AIRCRAFT LOST AND FOUND

Six Newfoundland fishermen and two Dutch pilots died when their two-engine Cessna crashed shortly after liftoff in Greenland on a beachhead flight to Goose Bay, Labrador. At about the same time, a Miami-based Peruvian Boeing 727 with 34 crew members and passengers on board disappeared off Newfoundland's coast. The last rescue scheduled to be held up in Goose Bay search-and-rescue efforts say there is no connection.

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CANADA

based advertising agency had orchestrated a negative campaign that tried to portray Filson as a meddling leader closely allied to Mulroney. But it was a perception that many Manitobans clearly did not share. Disgraced Liberals, meanwhile, blamed the campaign's emphasis on economic issues for its failure. As party polls began to reflect the erosion, a group of Liberal candidates asked campaign director David Walker to shift to such softer issues as health and education. Said one longtime Manitoba Liberal, "The only way Liberals have ever won in this province is to fight for the poor's turf. Walker has a lot to answer for." But Walker disagreed. "In the long run, the Liberals will never form a government unless they can establish credibility as a party that can be trusted to manage the economy," he said. "There was short-term pain for long-term gain."

Still, it is unclear if Carstairs, once an original and arresting political phenomenon, will survive to benefit from that sacrifice. Some Liberals say that her obsession with Meek-Lake had prevented the party from establishing its credibility on other issues. "She's just could not resist the national stage," said one friend. "The only issue she cared about was Meek-Lake and she just wanted to play with the big boys in Ottawa." In the process, though, she could her reputation as a populist leader who could stand apart from traditional politicians. In the end, she resorted to backhanded attacks on rival leaders, eventually accusing them of sexism. Dyer denied that attack as "an extremely cheap shot." Even senior Liberals said privately that they found the sexism comments embarrassing.

Last week, Carstairs said that she had no intention of resigning as leader, adding that the party will assess her leadership when it holds its annual conference next spring. But there were already murmurs of discontent among party members. At the same time, many close friends and advisers said that Carstairs had further damaged her credibility on election night when, in a rambling, incoherent speech, she suggested that unaffiliated farmers were trying to destroy her. Later, the bare minutes during an encounter with reporters said had to be led away.

For Filson, his skin-deep sympathy now permits him the luxury of long-range planning for the first time as party leader. But he faces several arduous tasks. For one thing, by the end of the campaign, he will have not articulated any particular vision for the province's future. Sixteen days of the premier: "Garry has no goals and no dreams. This is just the job he wanted and he worked damn hard to get it." As well, Manitoba's economy is heavily dependent on federal aid and Filson will have to heal some of the wounds left from the Meek-Lake debacle. But in the federal arena, his new majority government will make the premier's life easier. In the clubby atmosphere of First Ministers' gatherings, he will no longer suffer the outsider's status that is often accorded minority premiers.

BRUCE HALLACE is in Winnipeg.



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An angry deadlock

There is a no-surrender mood at Oka

The message was as blunt as its method of delivery. A group of Mohawk Warriors strode to the rolls of music and school treatment centre at Oka, Que. They tossed a rock wrapped in paper onto the road marked by troops of the Canadian army's Royal 22nd Regiment. Scrawled on the note was "No, No No." It was signed: "The People of the Pine."

The accident occurred late Friday morning, Sept. 14, as about two dozen armed Mohawks responded in dramatic fashion to an offer from the Quebec government to end the nine-week-old armed standoff at the Kahnawake Indian community at Oka, 20 km west of Montreal. After the Quebec government rejected two separate—and detailed—peace proposals worked out by negotiators for the Mohawks, Quebec Public Security Minister Sam Eskin offered instead a plan that, according to the natives, would require the Mohawks to give up their arms at the dead of night, away from the media, and to be taken to an army prison.

Eskin's proposal, which representatives of the Quebec government would neither confirm



Warrior and child: urging 'patience'

nor deny, was the latest in a series of offers and counter-offers in the dispute dragged on with no end in sight. During the week, the army tightened its blockade of the surrounded Mohawks, curtailing the delivery of food supplies and severing all but one telephone connection—which the natives later cut off themselves, demanding face-to-face talks. In lieu of the stepped-up pressure, army spokesmen contacted about a dozen journalists still inside the Mohawk camp, telling them that their presence was "jeopardizing the safety of the soldiers and the Warriors."

Outside the barricades, the army escorted as many as 100 Warriors to a Quebec provincial court, where a Crown prosecutor charged him with five criminal offences arising from the Oka standoff, ranging from possession of a dangerous weapon to participating in a riot. Randy Hertz, 46, code-named Spadewreck, had been in hospital in army custody with head injuries since an altercation with two soldiers on a pre-dawn reconnaissance behind the Mohawk lines on Sept. 6. Both soldiers suffered minor stab wounds.

With both sides dug in among the Oka pines, neither the Quebec authorities nor the Mohawks seemed ready to compromise. Sam Rob Artois, an Ojibwa chief from southern Ontario, who is one of the natives' key negotiators: "We're not going anywhere. We'll just wait it out. Indians are known for their patience."

BARRY CAHILL in Montreal

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UNDER THE GUN

BRIAN MULRONEY RETURNS TO PARLIAMENT NEXT WEEK RIDING A WAVE OF ANGER OVER HIS SENATE CHOICES

In the minds of Canadian public opinion, neither Prime Minister Brian Mulroney nor the Senate has scored particularly well recently. Yet last week, a single political act managed to take both of them down another notch. Mulroney's appointment of Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan to the Senate rebuffed the years of petrocrats that clung to the federal Conservatives during their first time in office. Buchanan, who immediately resigned as premier, was one of 13 Tories recently sent to the Senate as part of Mulroney's plan to loosen the Liberal party's stranglehold on the upper house—and its attempts to block legislation passed by the elected Commons (page 18). But the latest appointment was especially controversial: Buchanan's Nova Scotia government is under investigation by the RCMP over allegations that it threatened government contracts to political allies and friends of the premier.

Across the country, independent analysts pined the federal government's political opponents in condemning the Prime Minister's actions. "I have trouble comprehending the words to describe how, in strategic terms, this was an absolutely stupid thing for Mulroney to do," declared Winnipeg-based pundit Angus Reid, for one. "It sets a standard of public morality in this country which I think really dispenses many Canadians." Indeed, with Parliament poised to return on Sept. 24, Mulroney's choice caused ripples of concern in his own party as well, as many members are slowly redefining what the federal government's agenda and threat and their party's failure to escape its third-place standing in polls. But as unapologetic Mulroney dismissed the criticism as a phenomenon inflicted by the media, declared the Prime Minister: "The capacity for outrage of the Canadian media never surprises me." Of Buchanan's appointment, he added: "I suppose every political leader has his faults. It is amazing it is going to be provided from further service because of uncharacteristic stupidity after a distinguished career, I think that would run counter to my tradition."

Analysis: With that combative response, Mulroney set the tone for what is virtually certain to be a tense political autumn. Determined to enact his legislative program, the Prime Minister seemed willing to roll the dice with his own political future—as well as that of his party—by antagonizing the Tory rebels in the Senate. That is likely to be essential to the government, which wants its controversial Goods and Services Tax (GST) to clear the upper house before Jan. 1. But it may worsen a political atmosphere that is already tense after the failure of the Meech Lake accord, a drawn-out standoff between the army and

Métis warriors in Quebec, steadily worsening economic indicators and a growing military commitment to the volatile United Nations blockade of Iraq. "The nation is anxious," said Michael Adams, a politician with the Toronto-based Economics Research Group Ltd. "And our politicians are exceeding themselves in their ability to engender cynicism."

Clearly, it was not the first season of disaster in Canadian history. But the images of the summer of 1990 were disturbing for many Canadians because they reflected unexpected problems and cast doubts on the course ahead. The ill will that resulted from the collapse of the Meech Lake accord ruled out a quick healing of the regional and linguistic tensions aroused during the constitutional debate. And when the tiny town of Oka, Que., became the unlikely focus for protests by heavily armed Indians from the United States and Canada, police incidents had a high level of alarm among Canadians. In Montreal, where the Indian confrontation sparked daily incidents, a group of neo-nazis stormed a convoy of Métis women, children and older men fleeing from a potential shooting. Then, across the country, there were riotous Indian protests, blockading roads and rail lines. Against the background of the native crisis, the constitutional deadlock and a worsening economic outlook, the expected imposition of the cutback irreparable consequences for family budgets. Meanwhile, politicians appeared incapable of imposing a sense of direction to the nation.

The resulting sense of voter unease made road felt most forcefully in the election defeat of Ontario Liberal Premier David Peterson. His loss to the NDP on Sept. 6—barely six weeks after opinion polls showed that he had the support of 50 per cent of Ontarians—illustrated the vulnerability of all incumbent politicians. The Liberals' collapse in Ontario and in Manitoba's Sept. 11 election, and the federal party's weak performance in by-elections in Ontario and Quebec, may indicate troubled times ahead for new leader Jean Chrétien as well (page 22).

Chaos: Meanwhile, Reid noted that the federal Liberals in power for all but one month between 1962 and 1966, made previous appointments on a vast scale. As a result, he suggested, Mulroney's rethinking of the move may help federal star leader Audrey McLaughlin ease the Liberals. "If we have more events like [Buchanan's] Senate appointment over the next year and a half, Audrey McLaughlin is going to be the big winner," said Reid. "She is for only person in the country who should be happy with this appointment." But senior politician, Economics' Adams, noted that not even the NDP could free itself of rousing fears from the country's unsettled political climate. Said Adams, "Years past charged climates when they elected the Ontario NDP. If [Ontario premier-elect] Bob Rae does not suffice, they'll just keep on switching."

For his part, veteran political commentator Bruce Hutchison found the current political outlook unusually bleak. Said The Vancouver Star columnist and author of 13 books: "There is no sun or warmth among our political leaders who is fit to be prime minister." And New Brunswick Liberal Premier Frank McKenna, as well, observed that a void is developing in the country's political leadership. Declared McKenna last week: "The absence of sufficient vision, trust and political leadership often creates a vacuum, a vacuum that can become filled by negative forces."

Meanwhile, powerful new regional forces are trying to fill the perceived vacuum in national leadership. The strongest are the Quebec sovereigntist Bloc Québécois, led by former Mulroney confidant Lucien

Bouchard, and the western-based Reform Party. Said Hutchison: "You can look forward to a period of political chaos. And out of that chaos come change."

That chaos has been echoed on editorial pages since the election during the summer. But Mulroney's defenders reject suggestions that the Prime Minister has allowed the nation to drift. "He worked seven days a week on the Meech problem," and now advice evolved in the issue. "It was very much a calm atmosphere, over a situation that no Canadian government has ever had to deal with." But some friends acknowledged that Mulroney took time to recover from the exhaustion and disappointment of the failed Meech Lake process last June. "He would be less than human if he did not feel a general weariness," said one longtime associate, who requested anonymity. "There was a sort of

punch-drunkness to him." And, his intimates acknowledge, Mulroney was deeply disturbed by what he regards as Buchanan's personal betrayal in turning against the Conservatives.

Restoring Tory popularity will be difficult. For a government that actually planned to put its deficit-cutting agenda into effect during the early part of its second mandate, the Senate's delaying tactics have proven damaging. But few Tories seem ready to step back from the unpopular agenda. "It would be stupid to lose all that heat over the cut and does not get it in place," said one Conservative adviser who, like many of those interviewed, requested anonymity. "The government must do these things so it can move on to the happier part of its agenda in the second half of the mandate."

Nevertheless, the Liberal majority in the Senate, meanwhile, may require Mulroney to take the extraordinary step of asking the Queen to create as many as eight new Senate seats. A prime minister has resorted to that constitutional power only once before. In 1874, Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie tried and failed to convince Queen Victoria to approve the addition of new seats. But many Tories welcomed the prospect of a second attempt. At the time by Mulroney. Said one former senior aide involved in the 1987 free trade negotiations with Washington: "The highest American officials were cordially telling us they could not understand the paralysis that the Senate could impose upon us."

Partisan: Still, some analysts said that the reaction to Mulroney's recent appointment to the Senate—Buchanan's in particular—may dampen the Prime Minister from taking a further political step following the creation of new Senate seats. And other analysts claimed that the appointments are an indication that Mulroney is reversing steps taken before stepping down from office himself. Said Reid, for one: "This is the kind of appointment that comes from someone who does not expect to be facing the electorate again."

Whatever the Prime Minister's motivation, the move toward new senators to produce pitched political battles over both the GST and Mulroney's attempt to remake the Red Chamber in Tory blue. And the final winners will not be known until voters return to the ballot boxes, likely after two more years.

BRUCE WALLACE AND
PAUL KAVULA IN OTTAWA



'YOU HAD AN OPTION'

MULRONEY'S WORDS NOW HAUNT HIM

"You had an option, sir. You could have said, 'I'm not going to do it. This is wrong for Canada, and I'm not going to ask Canadians to pay the price.'"

—Brian Mulroney, July 25, 1984

The staging drama of the 1984 election proved to be a moral blow. Mulroney, the Conservative challenger, made a devastating impact on voters with his effective attack on a series of Liberal patronage appointments to the Senate and to diplomatic posts. A clearly flustered Turner maintained that he had no option but to fulfil promises made by his predecessor, Prime Trudeau. Mulroney's angry rhetoric, widely quoted throughout the rest of the campaign, marked a turning point in his drive towards his landslide election victory six weeks later—and raised hopes among many Canadians that the new Tory leader would put an end to patronage politics. But last week, when Mulroney named Nova Scotia's scandal-stricken Tory premier, John Buchanan, to the Senate, his righteous indignation to that role of 1984 exchange took on a hollow ring. From opposition politician to the contractors who set the chair in James Bates's bedchamber in Dorchester, N.S., many Canadians reacted angrily. Said Bates: "Anybody that talks about this says that it is a crock of the way around."

Distinction: Buchanan's appointment on Sept. 12 made him the latest of 16 Tories, all of them distinguished by their loyalty to Mulroney, to be named to the upper chamber since Aug. 30. Legislators to implement the popular Goods and Services Tax on Jan. 1 is now held up in the Liberal-dominated Senate. But by appointing Tory loyalists to nearly a dozen vacant seats, Mulroney has brought his party closer to taking control of the upper house of Parliament. With Buchanan, 41 Tories now face the 52 Liberals, five Independents and one Reform Party member in the 104-seat Red Chamber. And Tory House Leader Harris Arner last week repeated earlier assurances



Vassil Zaky Buchanan (opposite) as a bombshell and then an eruption.

that the government could enact a necessary constitutional provision that allows it to create an additional eight Senate seats. Those new seats, as well as the five remaining current vacancies, could give the Tories a majority—and allow the government to force passage of its blocked legislation.



Zarecki setting his sights on the job

In an echo of Turner's 1984 election that he "had an option" in making appointments, Arner last week said, in order to get his government's legislation past the Liberal senators, Mulroney had "no choice" but to name Tories to the upper house. For his part, Mulroney told reporters at the end of the week that he made "apologies whatsoever" for the appointment, and defended Buchanan's credentials. Said the Prime Minister: "He has worked long and hard and served with great distinction." But many Canadians saw the appointments differently. Said Fredericton politician Linda Dym: "Every one of these blatantly political acts puts another nail in the coffin of democracy."

For the 50-year-old Buchanan, a fellow member of popular politics and himself a longtime proponent of the appointment, clearly offered a welcome escape from a provincial political meltdown. The dean of Canadian premiers, with 14 consecutive years at the helm in Nova Scotia, Buchanan has recently found himself embroiled in the worst political crisis of his career. His government's underpinning a full-scale criminal investigation by the RCMP, and recent polls have shown that 71 per cent of Nova Scotians are dissatisfied with the Tories' stewardship of the most populous Atlantic province. Much of that dissatisfaction seems to be a result of the fact that Buchanan, who had been known as "Taffin Jaffa" for his ability to avoid being tainted by any government scandals, this summer finally found himself at the centre of one that would not wash away.

Kickbacks: It erupted on June 13, when federal government services deputy minister Michael Zarecki dropped a bombshell at a legislative committee hearing. The 41-year-old Zarecki, who resigned his government job in 1984 after claiming that his government senators had forced him into a payola scheme in Ontario, alleged that Buchanan headed a widespread patronage network that directed government contracts to personal friends and political allies. He also said that Buchanan

himself may have scripted kickbacks, a mere witness, Zarecki said that he believed the premier may have enjoyed "a piece" of a \$30,000 award to a Buchanan friend for relinquishing his position at the head of a company winning the provincial legislature. Zarecki, who went last week that he was setting his sights on the job that Buchanan has now vacated, said that the premier interfered in his duties on a regular basis to ensure that specific contracts be awarded to certain individuals.

Over the summer, Zarecki told, among other things that he was a \$50,000 talent-out-cover disapproving architect from a friend at a cost of \$52,700. As well, several government workers have come forward to say that they quipped and teased Buchanan's summer cottage in the early 1980s at the government's expense. Buchanan has consistently and vigorously denied the allegations. Then, at 4:30 p.m. on Sept. 12, he informed his caucus that he would be stepping down as premier to accept a Senate seat.

Minutes later, he attended the secret swearing-in of his interim successor, Housing Minister and deputy Premier Roger Blais, and, said Roy Williams, a political economist at Dalhousie University: "Buchanan has turned the province into a national embarrassment. And this was the final embarrassment."

But while Buchanan's appointment drew the fire of most critics, some other Senate appointments also raised eyebrows across Canada. New Brunswick's former premier Richard Hatfield, rejected ever unanimously by voters in 1987 after being at the centre of several scandals, received his political reward on Sept. 1. Halifax lawyer and developer Donald Oviatt, who appointed to the Senate on the same day, was assigned a two-year position for 30 days by the Nova Scotia Bar Association's Society in the summer of 1986 for "professional misconduct."

Scandalous: Other appointments, meanwhile, drew criticism from those who think that the Senate should not be used to reward favours, regardless of their qualifications. Former trade minister Patricia Goss, appointed in August, was instrumental in negotiating the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Noel Kossella, the associate undersecretary of state who was appointed along with Buchanan on Sept. 12, had worked on Mulroney's 1983 Conservative leadership campaign and his associated by-election campaign in Nova Scotia later that year. For his part, New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna, whose Liberals ended Hatfield's provincial political career by taking all 59 of the legislature's seats in 1987, called the appointments "scandalous."

But, for many critics, the other appointments paled beside Buchanan's. British Columbia Premier Walter Viles, Zarecki, for one, said that Ottawa's action was "gross" and "unacceptable." And some analysts said that it appeared to flout parliamentary convention. Buchanan is the first sitting premier in Canadian history to leave provincial politics directly for Senate service. Another University political scientist, Roger Anderson noted that there has always been a "tiny interval" between former premiers being named to the Senate. Said Anderson: "At least Hatfield had to sit around his house with his golf collection and his memories for a couple of years."

Others charged that Mulroney's appointment of Bu-

chanan undermines parliamentary legitimacy. Halifax lawyer and political analyst Tony Larkin noted that by appointing a premier whose government is under police investigation, "Mulroney has acted dishonestly." Added Larkin: "A senator has to be someone who is not accused of any wrongdoing." Said Peter Cheney, a political scientist at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S.: "The investigation into the Buchanan government almost serves to disqualify Buchanan's appointment at this time."

In the West, where Senate reform is a popular issue, the Buchanan appointment also raised hackles. Calgary citizen James Grey, who has helped lead the crusade for a so-called Triple E Senate—elected, effective and with equal representation from all provinces—said that he is appalled to see the current, non-elected Senate studying legislation passed by the Commons. But, he added, "Consequently, if I resist and anger as that the Prime Minister has been forced into furthering this illegitimacy in order to block the opposition." Said longtime Alberta Tory Bert Brown, chairman of the Triple E Senate Committee: "Mulroney is moving the level of his politics to a much higher level than he has ever before. He is now disappointed with the Prime Minister. That turned to disgust. Finally, we are revealed."

Unpopular: Analysts had traditionally considered Buchanan, who will now earn nearly \$144,000 annually from a combination of his Senate pay and his Nova Scotia government pension of \$66,846, to be a leading candidate for the Senate. A senior Tory strategist in Ottawa told Marston that the premier had been on the list of potential senators since 1984—a prospect that Buchanan embraced with his unwavering defiance of the Meech Lake constitutional accord. The official added that Buchanan has assured Mulroney that he will be vindicated by the police investigations of the administration that he has left behind. But he will also take a seat in a legislative body about which he has previously voiced mixed feelings.

As recently as June, he said "I don't like to be even in the Senate, but I guess I will have to be. The Senate is the last number of years has not really been a meaningful institution in this country."

Meanwhile, as debate continued to swirl around the appointment, the federal government remained adamant. Mulroney himself rejected suggestions that he should not have appointed Buchanan while the RCMP investigation was under way. Said the Prime Minister: "The presumption of guilt is something fundamentally alien to our national character." And he said that the former premier will make a "valuable contribution to the debate of the country," calling him "another very politician" to march with a fellow Nova Scotian—Liberal Senate leader Allan Rock. Still, as public outrage over Buchanan's appointment mounted, it was clear that Mulroney's decision to reward an old ally had almost instantly become a massive political liability.

GLENN ALLEN with JAC QUINN in Vancouver, JAC ALLEN in Calgary and A. KAYE POLTON in Ottawa



OUT OF THE FIRE

'THE LAST CORNBALL POLITICIAN'

In an earlier decade, the February meeting would have been described as a "love-in" of officials: the voters' white-collar leader of Nova Scotia's Tories. More than 600 Conservatives packed a Halifax hotel for the party's annual convention and willingly paid \$10 for silver spoons showing Premier John Buchanan's beaming smile and lesser amounts for just leaving a Buchanan family photograph. Buchanan had led the party for 19 years and many Tories still saw him as their most previous asset. And, though scarcely begrudgingly called "his 10-year-old government," Buchanan looked at the goodwill. He vowed the party members that he was already working on new strategies that would lead them to a fifth election victory in the 1990s, said Buchanan. "With your support I am committed to continuing our government." Little more than six months later, Buchanan, 59, elegantly abandoned his office for a seat in the Senate.

Most of the 27 members of his government were visibly shocked last week when Buchanan renounced the appointment to them at a 430 meeting in the Tory-blue-carpeted Prince



Buchanan with Mulroney: a legacy of troubled times

Albert's Congress room. Among that he had been under considerable stress in allegations mounted against him over the past few months, Buchanan told his critics that last spring he discussed leaving office with his wife, Mary. "It was a very emotional moment," he said, and since then, he has been. Even the former premier's lambast critics were willing to pay tribute. Said former deputy minister Michael Zaretski: "He was very much a people person." At work and Buchanan explained that he had made a decision to return because Mulroney offered him the Senate seat. In his comments he has made on favouring an elected body, Buchanan intoned: "I believe sincerely in Senate reform and I believe that I can help."

Friends: Although many Nova Scotians had said that Buchanan appeared to be swaying of his role as the member of an unprecedented investigative into his government, he had weathered attacks of other kinds before. After winning the party leadership in 1971, the affable, Tory lawyer endured public infidelity, the children of Tory members and the loss of a personal election to Liberal Ovide Brien in 1974. Then party critics noted that Buchanan

was a dogged man with an unwavering track record. He also claimed attributes Buchanan still lives in a modest house that he bought 20 years ago in the working-class Halifax district of Springfield for \$300. He kept close track of his constituents, their families and the details of their lives. Says Audin University political scientist Agor Adamson: "He was one of the last old-time combat politicians who knew your grandmother's name."

After his defeat at Brien in 1974, Buchanan's government took credit for an economic boom that swept the Halifax-Dartmouth area and for attempts to diversify the economy of his native Cape Breton Island. Still, well-attuned to his surroundings could not be diagnosed. One was his extreme loyalty to friends: the recent allegations against him are that he granted government favours to these associates. His de-

parture, said wife Lesley Alex McDougall last week, "symbolized the end of an era of patronage."

But there were more serious problems as well. Under Buchanan, Nova Scotia's accumulated debt grew almost 3,000 per cent, to nearly \$5 billion. And in social terms, his government responded only slowly to demands for reform involving women's rights, the environment, education and crime.

Now, Buchanan's exit has opened the provincial stage for a leadership contest. One certainly under-estimated premier Roger Fillion will not be a contender. Said the 64-year-old Annapolis farmer last week: "I have no aspirations whatsoever." Neither will Buchanan likely be succeeded by Michael Zaretski, the only Nova Scotian to immediately declare that he wants the province's job. Zaretski is widely disliked by many Tories for his charges against Buchanan. Still, he told Maclean's last week: "I am going to put a team together. I think I can win."

Luck: A list of some likely potential candidates includes Attorney General Thomas Mulcair and Government Services Minister Thomas Donohue. But a new leader will need luck and skill if he hopes to revive the party. Acknowledged Richard Thornhill, the popular town councillor, himself under police investigation, over the last term that he received in the 1970s: "The party doesn't appear to be doing all that well. It has a lot of soul-searching to do."

It now appears more likely that the Liberals or the NDP will form the next government. The Liberals, with 22 seats in the 62-seat legislature, are better placed at the outset than the NDP—which has only two seats. But the Liberals are handicapped by coming off a long run by party leader Vincent MacLean's lackluster campaign. MacLean, and Adamson, "gets in the three-yard line and then seems to fumble."

MacLean's performance comes across in the most electoral scrum, however, without the formidable campaign presence of Buchanan. Mulcair, the former premier prepared for his new duties involving his bid in an elected Senate. His wife, however, was unimpressed: "John is no longer the people's property," declared Maria MacLean.

MacLean's lacklustre



GLEN ALLEN is in Halifax



BACARDI STANDS OUT IN THE DARK.

SAVOUR THE EXCEPTIONALLY SMOOTH TASTE OF THE CARIBBEAN. BACARDI DARK RUM.

A SLOW START FOR CHRETIEN

HE PAYS THE PRICE FOR A SUMMER OFF

Liberal cabinet last week in the shadows of Stormont, the opposition leader's official residence in Ottawa, to lay the plans that they hope will eventually send Jean Chrétien of a much better address—44 Sussex Drive. The mood among the party's senior staff and 52 Liberal senators at two days of meetings on

Sharp questioned the wisdom of staging such out of the public eye. "Not one of these federal leaders has emerged this summer as a clear-cut leader," said Sharp, adding: "It might have been better if Chrétien had been around more and had answered questions." While Chrétien presided, voters in Ontario to blow their Liberal government out of office



Chrétien: a tentative return to a much-changed political landscape

Parliament Hill had clearly been open for the first time in more than a year, the shape of an emerging issue was evident. But as they gathered for an outdoor meal in the garden at Stormont, there was a real reminder that the Liberals have a long way to go to regain power. The gathering was held on the lawn because Chrétien has not yet been elected to the House of Commons. Until he is, he cannot be at the residence.

CONCERN: The session was empty, with only the kitchen and a basement bathroom available for use during the buffet. "It was an eerie feeling, staring out those narrow windows," said one senior Liberal MP. "Despite the good feelings in Ottawa, it was like we were well locked out."

The vacancy at Stormont underscores the concerns of some Liberals that Chrétien has squandered a summer with his deliberate absence from the political spotlight. A Gallup poll conducted in August showed that Liberal popularity, while still strong, had dropped from 56 per cent to 44 per cent since June, compared with 52 per cent for the next-closest party—and 20 per cent for the Tories, who gained three points. Aides say that the 49-year-old Liberal veteran revealed from public view after his June 23 leadership win in Calgary to concentrate on plans to pull the fractured party together, and to make his way to reduce his own leadership campaign date and the party's deficit of \$4.8 million. But even longtime Chrétien supporters and former Liberal cabinet member Mitchell

reports of the Liberal-dominated Senate finance committee.

Still, Liberal insiders say that Chrétien can claim triumph in sitting a divided caucus—at least initially in winning posts in the Liberal shadow cabinet last week. Chrétien deftly steered third-place leadership rival Sheila Copps out of her job as environment critic and into the industry portfolio by persuading the popular Hamilton MP to expand her expertise. In doing so, he secured his role as leader by reminding her that Montreal MP Paul Martin, who landed the high-profile environment post, had placed second in the leadership campaign to Copps's third. To secure support from both MPs, Chrétien also promised to fast-track positions in the federal party cabinet for at least one of their leadership supporters.

But Chrétien may face a much tougher challenge in trying to gain enough support from an increasingly cynical electorate to form the next government. The leader's main problem in Quebec: The past convention defection of MP Jean Lapierre and Gilles Rochelle, who

disavowed the leader as "a liar and a traitor," reduced the party's Quebec francophone caucus to two MPs. But members of the Liberal youth executive also resigned from the party. Still, Rochelle, a probable candidate for the upcoming Bloc Québécois at the next federal election, "Chrétien is from the past. With him as leader, the Liberal party has lost Quebec forever."

BEHIND: Meanwhile, in Western Canada, all established federal parties face a meagre, and growing, threat from the Reform Party. "There is bitterness in the provinces that Chrétien has only been out West once since the convention," said Gregory Schmidt, the Reform Party policy chairman for Alberta. "In the old days, it didn't matter that much. But the rest of the Liberalists in Ontario and Manitoba has proved that the old rules don't play anymore."

Indeed, several events make it startlingly clear that the political landscape to which Chrétien is returning is dramatically different from the one he left when he resigned as an MP in 1986. Noted Lorne Bussell, vice-president of Gallup Canada Inc.: "The lesson of the summer of 1990 is that people want principled politicians. Chrétien's strong suit is a perceived honesty and trustworthiness. If he begins to waffle on a lot of issues, it will hurt him." At least that much was clear as the veteran politician prepared for his September debut as Liberal leader.

By KAREY PETERSON in Ottawa



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A FRAGILE ALLIANCE

Two hours before delivering his 32-minute televised address to a joint session of Congress last week, President George Bush ran through a tap secret drill as he leaned in an empty chamber on Capitol Hill. But after his practice reading from a TeleProm-Text uplink, bearded figures to the rear convinced him that his speech would score two-minute revisions. To some observers, the presence of that media coach was the most telling indicator of the strains riding on the President's pre-war pop info. By calling in Roger Ailes, the New York City megamanager who led choreographed his 1988 presidential campaign, Bush signaled that his Persian Gulf policy had entered a new and highly risky phase. After six weeks of stalling approval ratings for his deft handling of a crisis that has become the defining event of his presidency, he began the far more arduous, long-term campaign of trying to hold together the fragile consensus of support in home and abroad.

At week's end, that consensus received a major boost when Britain committed an additional 120 tanks and 6,000 Desert Fox troops, joined other war's Second World War

BUSH STRUGGLES TO MAINTAIN SUPPORT FOR HIS GULF POLICY AMID A WAVE OF BITTER U.S. RHETORIC

experts against German Panzer divisions in North Africa. And in Ottawa, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney swiftly followed suit with an announcement that he was sending up to 15 cruise fighters and 450 support troops to the Gulf (page 28). Then, French President François Mitterrand announced that he would send 4,000 more soldiers to the Persian Gulf. But that show of allied support came after a wave of bitter American rhetoric directed at other U.S. allies. In a series of provocative speeches,

congressional Democrats and Republicans alike incited Japan and Germany. Washington's two most prosperous allies, for cost-cutting reasons to the U.S. effort in the Gulf Sea Florida Republican Craig James: "The people of the United States are tired of being soaked by the rest of the world. We're not going to take it anymore."

In part, the distrust reflected growing U.S. sensitivity about the escalating price tag of Operation Desert Shield, now estimated at \$2 billion a month, when lawmakers face a crucial end-of-the-month deadline to vote the country's budget crisis. But the bitterness of the attack was also driven through Bush and Tokyo, which swiftly responded with pledges of increased financial and logistical aid. And such rhetoric risked alienating the very nations whose support Bush now most needs. Said Republican Senator Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming: "These people run the risk of ending support for the President's policy." Still, that congressional anger, nurtured up the frustration and mixed feelings that many Americans have expressed about their complex role in a changing international order. "Now we're



incoherency—that's what it amounts to," said Stephen Bass of Washington's conservative Brookings Institution. "In the post-Gold War era, if you're going to have American troops in a shield, you're going to have to pay for it."

The stirring wave of ally-baiting came just as the U.S. administration confronted the most serious threat yet to the solidarity that has characterized the international embargo against Iraq. Late last week, white Iraq resumed diplomatic relations with Iran, an ending of eight years, Arab oil industry executives confirmed that the Tehran government had agreed to accept 200,000 barrels a day of Iraqi crude in return for shipping food and medicine to its neighbor. That followed an even more ominous development: Iran's supreme religious leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who exulted all Muslims to fight a holy war against American aggression and "greed."

That inflammatory call sent shudders through Washington and Arab capitals, which feared for a new wave of Iranian or Iraqi-backed terrorism. In response, the state department issued two terrorism alerts to its diplomats around the world. And the Iraqis were accused of attacking that Baghdad had recovered notice that "in the event of an attack of that sort, President Saddam Hussein should know that the United States will hold him personally responsible."

In fact, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, head of the U.S. Central Command in Saudi Arabia,

confirmed reports that suspected terrorists had been sighted examining intelligence bases, as well as the heavy tanks that currently house top U.S. military officials. And intelligence officials claimed that there has been a steady buildup in Baghdad recently of people linked to the international terrorism of terror.

Most Middle East experts predicted that, at the present, Hussein would not risk provoking Bush into a military strike with a direct attack on American facilities. But they agreed that he could target Iraq or Saudi Arabia in an effort to undermine Arab support. In fact, Khamenei ominously pointed out how quickly Ronald Reagan's resolve to stand tall in the Middle East had collapsed after the 1983 Iranian-backed truck-bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut, which left 241 dead. "How they forgotten," he asked, "how a bunch of poor Muslims pushed them away and evicted them from Lebanon?"

That volatile warning underscored the tense war of attrition that both sides are waging. In Kuwait, Iraqi forces made pro-drawn raids on the French, Dutch, Belgian and Canadian embassies' residences and on the Canadian premises, they briefly detained four consuls, including an American, who were waiting to arrive for freedom flights for Western hostages. Meanwhile, in Washington, Bush taped a 10-minute video-cassette message to the Iraqi people meant to undermine Hussein's grip on power.

In fact, the week had begun with another public-relations gesture: a historic show of superpower solidarity with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Helsinki. In its wake, Secretary of State James Baker identified Iraqis by their capitals as Europe and the Middle East, causing the panicked governments of support—"even if only symbolic," he told a NATO meeting in Brussels.

Still, Baker's call on Syrian President Hafez Assad, whose nation remains at the top of the second of state-sponsored terrorism, raised concern among Middle East experts that Washington's obsession with international backing for its Gulf policy was leading it to ignore longer-term alliances and considerations. That, they argue, is the same mistake that Washington made in backing Hussein against Iran. And the sudden flurry of superpower military commitments also fueled fears that U.S. troops may yet find themselves in a costly war. Those concerns fuel Bush's media adviser Aides with one of the warms about the President's image that dogged him throughout his election campaign. If nothing else, Stephen Bass pointed, Bush can't be too wary about his so-called "war" image.

MARCI McDONALD in Washington with correspondents reports

World Notes

GERMAN SOVEREIGNTY

At a five-nation summit in Moscow, the four Second World War victors, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France, signed a pact with the two Germanys restoring sovereignty to the soon-to-be-united German state. The so-called two-plus-four treaty, signed just three weeks before unification on Oct. 3, allowed Germany to join a full NATO member, although it limits the size of the country's armed forces and bans nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. Under a separate agreement, Bonn will pay about \$9 billion to Russia and Russia 370,000 Soviet soldiers now in East Germany will return home by the end of 1994.

SHUITS CHAIRD

Pakistan's caretaker government formally charged senior prime minister Ishtiaq Khan with abuse of power. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan demanded Khan's 20-month government on Aug. 6, citing corruption and political incompetence. If found guilty, the 39-year-old former leader could be disqualified from taking part in the Oct. 26 general election and barred from holding public office for seven years. Western diplomats have said that the government prescribes Shiekhism, Pakistan could lose hundreds of millions of dollars in foreign aid.

JUSTICE FOR A JOGGER

In a case that shocked New York City and fueled racial tensions, a Manhattan judge sentenced three black and Hispanic teenagers to a maximum of six years, eight months in jail and a maximum of 20 years for their part in the assault of a white man and the gang rape, beating and robbery of a white woman near Central Park in April, 1989. In practice, however, the next generation can serve under New York law in 25 years, and the youths will be eligible for parole in five years.

SEARCHING FOR ANSWERS

At a stormy meeting of the Soviet parliament, President Mikhail Gorbachev criticized Prime Minister Nikolai Ryklov's economic reform package and said that he would present a more radical free-market plan. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has begun exporting gasoline for the first time since the Second World War.

AN APPEAL TO END VIOLENCE

South African Foreign Minister Riekse (left) appealed for the United Nations to help in ending South African violence that has killed at least 800 people in six weeks and threatens to derail negotiations to end apartheid.



U.S. troops playing baseball in the desert. Bush (above): the President's Gulf policy has entered a highly risky phase



CP-145P jet fighter: a contribution 'to the defence of the integrity of nations'

Into the breach

Canada increases its military presence

Just eight days after Iraq troops rolled into Baghdad, Kuwait on Aug. 2, Canada mobilized international effort to compel that blatant violator of international law. Prime Minister Mulroney announced that Canada would contribute "to the defence of the integrity of nations" by sending three Canadian warships carrying 104 troops to the gulf "as soon as possible." And last week, Mulroney announced that commitment, saying that Canada would deploy a squadron of CF-18 jet fighters and up to 450 pilots and ground crew. Opposition leaders immediately criticized the government for sending further Canadian forces without consulting Parliament, which was not to be resolved until Sept. 24. But in a relatively restrained news conference, Mulroney said that the aircraft would provide needed air defence for Canadian and other ships involved in the international operation to deter Iraq from further aggression. "This is not a conflict between Arabs and the West," added Mulroney, echoing the words of President George Bush. "It is a [Iraqi President] Saddam Hussein against the civilized world."

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prised in the middle of the Persian Gulf, while other nations' forces have not across the Gulf of Oman and the Red Sea. Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney, director general of military plans and operations, said that "there is no doubt that the potential risk is greater in the Persian Gulf" than elsewhere in the region. But he added that the Canadians deliberately chose that area—and that the force is up to the task.

Meanwhile, as many as 10 of the McDonnell Douglas Corsair (CF-18) will patrol the sky overhead. The sophisticated two-engine aircraft are engaged for both air-to-air and air-to-ground combat—although military officials said that the planes would only be equipped for defence operations in the Gulf. Ottawa has purchased 128 of the planes for \$25 million each since 1982, and they have been the main fighters in the Canadian Pacific naval fleet. But they have experienced technical difficulties, and 12 of them have crashed, including five this year. Military officers said last week that the planes normally function better in dry, hot climates than in the Canadian North.

At the same news conference, Mulroney said that Canada will increase to \$75 million from \$2.5 million its aid for refugees, mainly from Bangladesh and the Philippines, who have been driven out of Iraq and Kuwait by the Iraqi invasion. Mulroney also announced that Canadian Royal Navy ships would join (which he did) an inter-coastal on Sept. 15 placing the

troops aboard the three Canadian ships on active service. Opposition leaders had criticized the timing of that order, saying that it prompted unwarranted delays in the military operation. Although Mulroney had expected great progress in returning the ships to the Middle East, and civilian and military crews worked around the clock to update the three-ship vessels before they sailed from Halifax Harbour on Aug. 24, last week the ships sailed into his unseasonably choppy waters—and the department of defence deliberately slowed their approach to the Red Sea to give the government more time to pass the order.

Although all Canadian forces are always technically on active service, it is a parliamentary tradition to pass an order authorizing that ships whenever substantial numbers of Canadian troops enter a potentially dangerous area. Once the order is passed, the government, by law, must table it in Parliament within 10 days. And the military had expected that order to pass on Sept. 14—18 days before the scheduled Sept. 24 recall of Parliament. As a result, officials expected the ships to pass through the Suez Canal and into the Red Sea on Sept. 14. But in early September, the navy's legal experts determined that the order would need to be tabled in Parliament within 10 days of passage, rather than 30 days after it. "A legal interpretation from our own lawyers," explained Commodore Johnstone, "in that 10 days, in fact, means nine days or less." To make matters worse, the Sea is a one-way street and it took a week northbound day, during the ships to spend six extra 48 hours making turning exercises in the Mediterranean and waiting at the entrance to the canal.

Johnstone said that the defence department decided that "to say we missed a day's delay and try and recompense to the government that they recall Parliament one day early would seem a bit ludicrous." But opposition politicians said that Mulroney should have recalled Parliament earlier to accommodate the ships. "It reminds me of Gilbert and Sullivan," remarked Liberal defence critic William Rompkey. "It's degenerating into a farce." Added Shirley Fox, whose husband, Gerald, is a leading scientist aboard the *Proteus*. "When what I can see, this is just Mulroney's scurrying around again." But she did not appear unduly alarmed by the delay. "The farther away from the Gulf he is," she said, "the better." With the deployment of an additional 450 men and women in the Persian Gulf, more Canadians will certainly share her sentiment.

MARY MONTGOMERY with E. JANE FLETCHER in Ottawa and GARY ALLEN in Halifax



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LIBERIA

'Senseless slaughter'

Monrovia is engulfed by tribal warfare

Even Liberia's birth in 1847 until 30 years ago, the descendants of the Afro-American immigrants who founded the West African nation dominated the indigenous tribes. That situation began to change after Master Sgt. Samuel Doe seized power in a 1980 military coup, ending the rule of the old power elite and promoting the interests of his fellow Kru tribesmen. Now, at the closing stages of a bloody civil war, the power balance has changed again—violently, and in a new direction. Following the reported capture and assassination of the de facto Doe last week, rebel troops were hunting down and murdering Kru tribesmen, women and children in the streets and back alleys of Monrovia, the capital. Eight months of catastrophic civil warfare seemed about to culminate in genocide. And from his New York City headquarters, US Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuellar issued what he called a "harsh appeal" to the warring factions to "halt the senseless slaughter."



Johnson: conflicting claims on power

All the signs were that his appeal would be ignored. A five-state peacekeeping force, which the Economic Community of West African States sent to Liberia last month, was under orders to save the Kru and their Mandingo allies from extermination at the hands of rival Gio and Mende tribesmen. But, clearly, the 4,000 peacekeepers from Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, Sierra Leone and Guinea were not enough to protect any but a small number of the threatened groups. At the same time, the population as a whole was appalled because the United Nations and other international relief organizations were unable to send in desperately needed humanitarian assistance. The fighting was so intense that the United Nations evacuated its resident personnel several weeks ago. And a US emergency relief co-ordinator who flew into Monrovia on Sept. 1 shortly left the country four days later, his task unfinished.

The co-ordinator's departure came in the wake of Western news reports of Doe's death. Comounding the chaos was the fact that Doe's assassins were members of a small rebel group opposed to Charles Taylor's main rebel army, which occupies an estimated one-third of the country. But a faction led by Prince Johnson, which holds parts of the besieged population 400,000, reportedly captured Doe when, accompanied by a force of bodyguards, he emerged from his bearded presidential palace to visit the headquarters of the military school here on Sept. 9. His body was later displayed in his mutilated body, reports said. But troops loyal to him fought on, and throughout the week the capital reverberated with the sounds of artillery and automatic small-arms fire, while the dead and wounded lay unattended in the streets.

Amid the carnage there were no fewer than four contenders for power. Taylor had proclaimed himself president in July but, following the capture of Doe, Johnson claimed that role. Meanwhile, Reg Gbor, David Wierley, commander of Doe's bodyguards, announced that he was the legitimate interim president (Wierley is not a Kru, but a member of the Kru tribe). And a group of rebel militia, a nearby Gambia described themselves as Liberia's green-shirted army, under lawyer Akpan Sawyer. But clearly no one faction was to change.

Meanwhile, although the presence of foreign peacekeeping troops offered some protection for Doe's relatives and members of his tribe, the future of the multinational force seemed to be in question. The West African soldiers last Thursday evacuated 1,000 people from the presidential palace and its grounds and escorted them to the relative safety of a temporary camp. But Ghanaian and Nigerian government officials expressed uncertainty about their continuing participation in the force. With killer gangs roaming the streets of the capital and cholera outbreaks reported, there seemed no immediate prospect of an end to the worst carnage that West Africa has seen since the Nigeria civil war two decades ago.

NORIN RIEBERMAN with GEORGE OLA DAVIS in Sierra Leone

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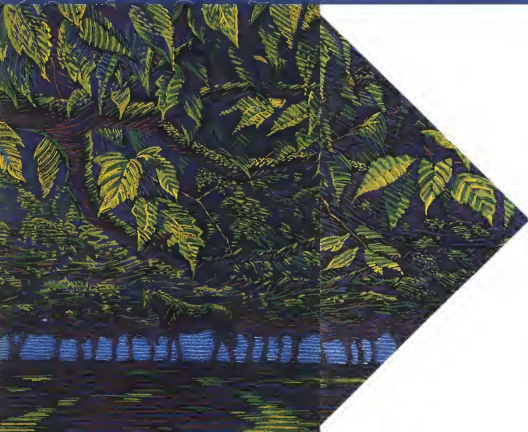
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A CROWD'S SIGNAL

The Bank of Canada's high interest rate policy has likely cooled, for the short term at least. Bank Governor John Crow said that "progress is being made" in the fight against inflation and that there is "room for interest rates." At the same time, the inflation rate dropped in August for the sixth consecutive month, to 4.5 per cent from 4.7 per cent. The Bank of Montreal responded by dropping its prime rate to 13.75 per cent from 14 per cent.

ILL WINDS FOR THE VSE

The Vancouver Stock Exchange dropped to a record low following reports that a U.S. television network show, ABC's *PrimeTime Live*, will broadcast a critical report of the exchange later this month. The VSE index plummeted 12.20 points to 674.20 on Sept. 18, before closing the week at 685.29. *PrimeTime Live* report conducted by interviewing president Don Hadden. After Hadden had declined the comments taken by the FIM and the British Columbia Securities Commission to reduce the incidence of unprofessional conduct, *PrimeTime Live* staffers, at a surprise action, placed a small TV set on his desk, showed video of apparently questionable transactions and asked the surprised president for his reactions.

WORKERS STRIKE AT FORD

About 13,000 members of the Canadian Auto Workers union at the Ford Motor Company's new Oshawa plant went on strike demanding higher wages, better benefits, protection from automation and more time off. They had been earning a base rate of \$17.83 an hour.

A JUNK SALE BLOCKADE

The U.S. Dept. of Treasury reportedly blocked a \$3.5-billion proposed sale of junk bonds from Columbia Savings & Loan Association of Beverly Hills, Calif., to Gordon Americas Corp., which is owned by Toronto-based Gordon Investment Corp. and Hong Kong billionaire Li Ka-shing. Their director Timothy Ryan said that Columbia had failed to get the highest price it could for its high-yield portfolio.

A RECORD SALE

Albertans responded overwhelmingly to the opportunity to buy the 66 per cent of the shares reserved for them at Telus Corp., formerly Alberta Government Telephones, the province's telephone system which is being privatized. The 1951-million offering was Canada's largest single share issue.

Hibernia is expected to pump about 110,000 barrels of oil a day over an 18-year period, the equivalent of about 12 per cent of Canada's projected light-oil production in the year 2000.

To make the project viable, Ottawa had to agree to contribute \$1 billion in credits and another \$3.7 billion in loan guarantees. The four-company Hibernia consortium, led by Calgary-based Model Oil Canada Ltd. with a 38.1-per-cent share in the venture, will put up the remaining \$2.5 billion. Hibernia partners are Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. with 25 per cent, Prime-Canada with 26 per cent, and Chevron Canada Resources Ltd. with 11.9 per cent. For its part, Newfoundland offered tax concessions during the construction phase of the project.

In recent months, it appeared that Hibernia was doomed. After Premier Clyde Wells had literally opposed the March-Lalor constitutional accord in June, some Quebec provincial politicians and Quebec MPs angrily insisted that Ottawa withdraw its support for the project. But they apparently dropped their opposition when it was made clear that Quebec could benefit from Hibernia.

Hibernia is also likely to benefit the entire Canadian oil industry. As a result, the chief executives of all four consortium members joined Trade Minister John Crosbie, Newfoundland's representative in the federal cabinet, and Wells at the signing ceremony.

Most of the engineering and design work will be done by consortium engineers in Calgary (Inco), St. John's (Mowat), spokesman for the Calgary-based Canadian Petroleum Association, said that the Hibernia project will give us "several boost to the oil industry and to the whole economy." Added Murray: "If you consider how long it has been since the discovery was made, it's rare to see the thing come to fruition. That's what's at all about—getting the oil out and into production."

Although Ottawa has given a measure of support to Hibernia, Murray says that he does not expect immediate federal funding for other oil mega-projects, such as OML, or more exploration in the Beaufort Sea. Developments on these ventures are scheduled for 1993 or 1992. Murray said, and some, such as the Beaufort project, are still dependent on finding larger reserves before mega-projects could be profitable. In the meantime, last Friday Newfoundlanders, who were suddenly confronted by good economic news for a change, tossed Hibernia long into the night.

GREY W. TAYLOR with
JOAN ROWSE in Calgary
MICHAEL HARRINGTON in
Toronto. GLEN ALLEN in
Halifax and RUSSELL
MANCERST in St. John's

Drilling ship leaves St. John's harbor
ready to work on an offshore rig
(Below: "economic diversification")

erprise in 1948, made a rare appearance at the signing ceremony.

Construction of the single massive underwater platform and drilling rig will create up to 3,000 jobs and, when it is completed in 1996, it will employ about 1,300 workers, with at least 40 per cent of the jobs to go to Canadians. It will take five years to build the 470,000-ton production platform. The massive structure's concrete-and-steel base will rest on the ocean floor and will be topped by five modules, including a 30-story building large enough to accommodate 250 to 300 workers.

The oil companies, Ottawa and Newfoundland first undertook to develop Hibernia in 1985, but they could not agree on who would foot the huge bill and how the benefits would be shared. In addition to battling over dividing the oil revenues, the federal and provincial governments fought over who would get the several hundred jobs needed to build the modules. The compromise: one of the five modules will be built in Newfoundland, with the remaining four modules to be constructed out to international borders.

When it begins production,

Per Ottawa, Hibernia marks the first time that it has backed an energy megaproject since 1988, when it promised \$450 million in funding and \$1.2 billion in loan guarantees for the much larger oil extraction project near Fort McMurray, Alta.

But while Hibernia opened up visions of jobs for Newfoundlanders, critics overrode optimism. Environmentalists said that the savage storms that rip through the Hibernia area and the huge rainforests that drift through the region could cause an environmental disaster. Several economists also say that, despite the current Persian Gulf crisis, which has driven oil prices to more than \$30 (\$7.5) a barrel from \$19, prices likely will not stay high enough in the long term to cover the \$204-barrel cost of extracting Hibernia's reserves. Said Paul Bagden, executive director of the Economic Council of Newfoundland and Labrador: "The price of oil is the critical factor."

Said, despite the risks, aptly named Canada's geoscientific province, Indian, even first, 88-year-old former Newfoundland premier Joey Smallwood, who led the province into Canada-

AFTER FIVE YEARS OF ACRIMONY, WORK ON THE HIBERNIA OILFIELD IS FINALLY SET TO START

several oil companies after oil was first discovered in 1978. They fought over who would foot the massive bill and how the benefits—ratcheting the petroleum royalties, taxes, jobs and other economic spin-offs—would be shared. In the end, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had to intervene to convince his Quebec critics, which had been unwilling to help Newfoundland because of its part in causing the failure of the March-Lalor accord, to support Hibernia.

The decision to go ahead with Hibernia followed more than a decade of often acrimonious disputes among Ottawa, Newfoundland and

BUSINESS

DRILLING DEEP

Like many Newfoundlanders, Wade Dwyer welcomed the development of Hibernia. On Friday, a cadre of oil-warded politicians and businessmen gathered on the Hotel Newfoundland in St. John's to officially sign a \$5.2-billion agreement to begin construction of a huge oil production platform for use on the Hibernia oilfield, 160 miles southeast of St. John's in the North Atlantic. It was a development, they said, that will generate thousands of jobs for Canada's most economically depressed province. Said Dwyer, 36, a maintenance worker at the Glenora-Chesley oil refinery and the deputy mayor of St. John's, 300 km west of St. John's, where the giant oil-production platform will be built. "Everybody is hungry and excited," added federal Energy Minister John Timp at the signing ceremony, where promising \$2.7 billion in cash and loan guarantees "Hibernia will bring jobs and economic diversification to Newfoundland and all of Canada."

The decision to go ahead with Hibernia followed more than a decade of often acrimonious disputes among Ottawa, Newfoundland and



A revolt that killed the 'good old boys'

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

The night before Ontario went to the polls, Conrad Black hosted a private party for 50 of Canada's top executives at the Toronto Club, the Empire City's most exclusive watering hole. It was a significant event—not disconnected with the following evening's astonishing NDP victory. The guest of honor was Preston Manning, whose 40-minute speech made a powerful impression, particularly since it was the Reform Party leader's first exposure to the cream of the Canadian Establishment.

Natasha Manning and Robert Rae graced the front pages of the political spectrum. Manning's message was similar to Black's, different only in the form of bullets: Canadians have had it. The neo-conservative citizens of this neo-conservative country are mad as hell and aren't going to take it anymore.

The real victims of this mood in search of a movement are not so much David Peterson, Shamus Cantner or even Brian Mulroney as the system itself. The Liberal and Conservative good old boys (at best) have for generations run their parties and, by extension, the country. His royal courts dedicated to their own perpetuation. That mandate, if it ever existed, has now been exhausted and Canadian political leaders will never again be able to treat voters as objects that can be bought with their own money at quadrennial national election elections.

Sporadically and with central direction at parliamentside, Canadians have angrily challenged the legitimacy of their governments. They are fed up with having to subjugate personal priorities to self-enforced bureaucracies that ignore accountability and give handily a bad name. The switch from the deeply ingrained Canadian tradition of carrying behind closed-door authority to the new reality has been rough and will get rougher.

The case of this new reality politics was probably best caught by Ralph Klein, a veteran Calgary journalist and energy commentator who was first to recognize the true significance of the Reform Party phenomenon. "We're

The once-smug citizens of this once-smug country are mad as hell and aren't going to take it anymore

reverting to a more active notion of citizenship than the purely electoral and representative system envisaged," he wrote recently. "The Reform Party has seized on the idea of delegative representation because it has a strong resonance in Western Canada. The co-operative movement provided a living ground for direct democracy and planted the seed to define democracy and direct our own destiny. Ingrained in this determination was an anti-state bias and a commitment to decentralized decision-making and local control. In the Reform version of democracy, the people, not Parliament, are supreme."

This powerful notion, that voters can exercise power as they can believe, is what propelled Rae to office in Ontario and could very well reward Preston Manning with at least 40 western seats in the next federal election, allowing him to hold the balance of power. It was partly for that reason, and because he is the leader of the only right-wing party left in Canada, that Black wanted Manning to destroy. "We at Toronto and Ottawa have too often paid the price in the past of ignoring centrifugal political movements," Black commented afterwards. "I thought it was time for us to see that Manning isn't some lunatic from the ether

regions, and for him to use that we're not a bunch of phantoms with horns and cloven feet. He is also the only politician in the country who makes an intelligent case for redesigning Canada's structure and wants Quebec to join in, but makes the sensible point that if the province won't play, there is life for Canada after Quebec. I feel it's important Quebec get the message that English Canada isn't interested in an endless carving up of a shrinking pie just for the sake of maintaining the fiction that we have a country."

Black has his own explanation why Canada seems to be the only democracy coming to the left. "When politicians try to govern by raising a wet finger to the wind or on the basis of public opinion polling, the public gets so sick that all leaders are indispensable, that the distinction between a Bob Rae and a David Peterson is very subtle. In fact, it isn't. Rae is well to the left of where Ontario wants to be and Rae's followers are well to the left of his. Perhaps all the accumulated chaos will cause Canadians out of their lassitude, as they realize that everything's falling apart—that the country is on the verge of bankruptcy and could crash any day."

Apart from voters' disillusionment with the current powerholders, the quietest leap in grassroots militancy can be traced to Pierre Trudeau's Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which prompted nearly everybody in this country to re-examine his or her past deeds, present entitlements and future aspirations.

Similar resentment is developing along regional lines, with western Canadians and Maritimers in particular no longer willing to accept that Ontario and Quebec should get most of the federal dollars. Local identity as at least of such right's consciousness, and the citizens of every community feel they're equally entitled to receive the legacies of governments, as well as being equally responsible for providing the tax dollars required. It's an idea beautifully caught by John Gossens, creator of the National Film Board of Canada. Speaking at a different context, and trying to stress that in Canada no one place should dominate the country's culture, he said, "Every church, however local, is holy ground, and equally so."

Ironically, it was Gossens who invented the film documentary that was the forerunner of the television ones which helped bring about the election. The advent of national TV coverage, especially the exposed raw Mulroney footage shown on CBC's Newsworld, has left politicians with no place to hide. The failure of Mulroney may have doomed Confederation, but it also showed our leaders can no longer ignore anything in secret. From now on, it's got to be open countries, openly accused at.

The next test for this revolutionary new doctrine will be the implementation of Michael Wilson's Goods and Services Tax, which according to a British poll this summer was strongly supported by only a minority of Canadians. The Mulroney Whores may have been only the first to use barbed wire as a protest against unpopular government policies. In Ottawa ready for the Rondeau Fishery, Westcoast's Gullstrand and the Staghound Steamships?



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THE BLUE JAYS
HAVE IGNITED A
BASEBALL BOOM
ACROSS CANADA

The Toronto Blue Jays started life as ugly ducklings. They were an expansion team of unknown and also-ran players in what was considered the sport's worst ball park, where, on opening day in 1987, it snowed. These efforts to baseball respectability reinforced the view that the game did not belong north of the border. It was, after all, the great American pastime. But baseball has since become a great Canadian game as well—and on Monday, Sept. 17, 1990 at about 7:30 p.m., the 3,666-882nd fan of the current Blue Jays season was expected to push through a SkyDome turnstile and into baseball history: That Blue Jays fan would establish major-league baseball's all-time attendance record, a record first by the end of the season may never be broken—except, perhaps, by the Blue Jays themselves.

The stunning rise in Blue Jays fan-tasias has ignited a baseball boom right across Canada. Four out of the country's eight major-league ball clubs are all-time team attendance records this year. At the same time, the Edmonton Trappers of the Pacific Coast League were sold in August for a reported \$5.8 million, reportedly the highest price ever for a minor-league franchise. Officials at Baseball Canada, the organization that administers the

game at the amateur level, say that more Canadian youngsters are playing the game than ever before, and the number of Canadians who make it to the professional ranks is growing. Indeed, the country's major-league teams have provided the only question marks: the Montreal Expos have been for sale all season, and the Blue Jays, perennial favorites to win the American League East, have responded to the overwhelming fan support with passing astonishment. Said veteran Jays infielder Rance Mullins: "This ball club has more talent than anyone else in the eastern division but, unfortunately, we haven't played consistently well all year."

But whether the players are millionare major leaguers who fail to fulfill preseason expectations, or raw recruits who can barely throw a curve ball or run a double play, Canadians are turning up to watch them perform. There are now 10 million Jays fans in Canada and they are competing at every level of the baseball hierarchy (page 46).

In most cases, the teams have developed large and loyal followings. The Calgary Cannons, a Triple A team whose players are one

step away from the major leagues, have drawn more than 300,000 fans in each of the past two seasons. Two steps down the baseball ladder, in Ontario, the Hamilton Redwings, who compete in the same Class A league as the St. Catharines Blue Jays and the Windsor Petros in the same province, drew 74,544 fans to their 56 home games this year, up from 64,386 in 1988. And for the last game of the season, the Redwings packed about 2,000 fans into their 3,200-seat stadium.

Canadians are also beginning to make an impact on major-league fields. A total of seven Canadian players are competing in the majors this year. And that number could rise sharply in the near future (page 43). There were more than 30 Canadians in the minor leagues, and nearly 300 playing for American college and university teams. Said Montreal Expos radio-caster Larry Walker, a native of Maple Ridge, B.C.: "American kids have an advantage over us with more games and opportunities. But if you have the determination and the heart, nobody is going to stop you."

Baseballer: Precisely why an American-dominated summer sport should take hold of a hockey-mad, cold-weather country like Canada is open to debate. Allan Gordon, a former Toronto Star baseball writer turned novelist, says that the answer lies in the game itself. "It's gentle, graceful and, for me, ordinally fascinating," he said. "Every day during the season, they're breaking our hearts or raising our hopes." But for those of a less poetic temperament, the baseball boom has come to do with the on-field success of the Blue Jays, the novelty of the Toronto SkyDome's retractable roof—and the power of television. Edmonton sports columnist John Shorrock, who also hosts one of

Western Canada's most popular radio phone-in sports shows, said that westerners can usually watch four Blue Jays games a week on TV, compared with one Expos game. Indeed, this, the Toronto-based sports network, is carrying 60 Jays games this season, while CTV is broadcasting 30, and the broadcasts rarely overlap. Said Shorrock: "Television does a wonderful selling job. People who have [otherwise] never seen the SkyDome think it's the eighth wonder of the world."

But westerners produce fewer, and baseball's surprising success in Canada has lost the Canadian Football League's three Ontario franchises. They must compete for audiences with both the Expos and the Blue Jays. Toronto Argonauts general manager Michael McCarty said that the Ottawa media frequently pay more attention to the Expos than the home-town Rough Riders. But for their part, the Argos, who play once every seven to 10 days, are competing for less against a team that plays almost every day and receives massive media exposure. Said McCarty: "Football is a very tough sell. The Blue Jays are getting crowds of 50,000, and we're fighting to get 32,000."

And baseball has produced fellow westerners. The huge crowds flocking to the SkyDome for Jays games are pumping millions of dollars into downtown Toronto hotels and restaurants. Wilson Davis, president of the Western Tourist Convention and Visitors Association, said that the Jays have become a regional team, which

draws fans from across southern Ontario and western New York state. He estimates that up to 20 per cent of the fans at Blue Jay home games, or close to 10,000 people, come from outside Toronto. And those who are in the city for the day spend, on average, between \$100 and \$150. Said Davis: "The Jays have had a significant impact on tourism in Toronto."

Selkie: Maybe baseball aficionados predicted that the Jays would set a major-league attendance record this year, and for those folks it was a certainty by early July. George Holas, the team's director of stadium and ticket operations, said that the past 58 consecutive home dates have been soldouts, and the last available tickets for this season were sold on July 7. Yet despite the fan support, the Jays have not dominated their opponents at the SkyDome this year. Up until Sept. 13, when they started their first home stand of the season, the Jays had compiled a 20-34 win-loss record at the SkyDome. Said Blue Jays manager Cito Gaston: "The fans here are used to the club winning, but we're going through a rebuilding process. They're just going to have to be patient."

After capturing the American League's eastern division title in 1989, many baseball executives and writers picked the Jays as the perennial favorites to win again. But the players and coaches have failed to live up to those expectations. They entered September, the final full month of the 162-game major-league

season, in second place, 66 games behind the Boston Red Sox. The Jays were eight of their next 10 games, and managed to give Boston's lead to as little as three games at one point. Still, after a season of inconsistent play, the Blue Jays of 1990 failed to rebound in their fans' otherwise emotion that surrounded the successful divisional races of 1985 and 1986. Said novelist Gordon: "Our attitude has changed since 1986. It was like first love. We give everything and our hearts got broken when they didn't make it to the World Series. Now, we're wiser."

Even though the Blue Jays have won more games than they have lost in each of the past seven seasons, they have rarely been the enough about of their distinct roots to allow themselves to their fans to relax. But they have not followed as badly that their fans have grown up on them. As a perennial contender, they have drawn big crowds and kept them on the edge of their seats until well into September. And that season has been no exception. At the mid-season all-star break in early July, the Jays had a 47-35 win-loss record and were a mere half-game behind the Red Sox. In their next 60 games, played through Sept. 14, they had achieved a record of 39-33.

Almost all of the players the Jays count on to produce runs, and wins, faltered in the first 60 games after the break. Outfielder and slugger George Bell hit 17 home runs before the break, and three afterwards. Third baseman Kelly

PHOTO COURTESY OF BASEBALL CANADA



Catcher Pat Borders applies the tag: the odds of popularity in a hockey-mad, cold-weather country



Outfielder Junior Felix: large and loyal followings

Gruber's business production plummeted from 30 before the tank to six after it. Outgoing Junior Pini drove in 47 runs before the all-star game, and 13 after. Shortstop Tony Fernandez, one of the team's offensive leaders throughout the 1980s, carried a .290 career batting average into the season but had slumped to .268 by the end of last week. Many baseball analysts credit the Blue Jays' problems with preventing a complete collapse. When the Jays lost three of four games to the Red Sox during a crucial stretch at the end of August, the pitching staff showed a mere eight runs.

The Jays' very second ball hit generated headlines about discontent in the clubhouse. Over the past month, both Bell and Fernandez have openly expressed discontent. While Bell was advised without any problems in late August, he told reporters that some of his teammates thought he was lying. He also complained about the younger players on the team. Said Bell, "You can't talk to the rookies. They must pay. They don't respect the coach or the veteran players." A week later, Fernandez publicly acknowledged that he has few, if any, friends on the team and was not enjoying the game this season because of his problems at the plate. Said Fernandez: "I can't play the way I'm playing and have fun in baseball."

Costs. The Montreal Expos have also endured a difficult year. The major problems affecting Canada's National League club, however, have not occurred on the field but in the front office and in the back office. The team has performed far beyond previous expectations, managing to remain in contention for the national championship title for most of the year. Going into the last weeks of the season, the Expos had achieved a winning record close to the Blue Jays'. But they were mired in third place, 7½ games behind the division-leading Braves, and had only a mathematical but unrealistic chance of capturing the division.

Off the field, the situation was more grim. The Expos continued to suffer a puzzling lack of fan support, rarely able to fill even half of the 58,000 available seats at Montreal's Olympic Stadium. Expo officials predicted that season attendance for the year would hover around the 1.5-million mark, which is less than the 1.7 million the club drew last year, when it ranked fourth from the bottom in terms of attendance among the 30 major-league teams. The stadium itself appears to be part of the problem. "The Big O is probably a little too big, probably a little too narrow," said the Expos majority

owner, Charles Bronfman. But the main reason may lie in the simple fact that Montrealers have grown weary of a club that has usually been close but has never managed to scale the ultimate pinnacle. Said team president Claude Brochu: "Nothing will succeed more than the day we bring a baseball championship to Montreal."

Brochu says that he is confident that the Expos will remain in Montreal, which has been the other prime off-field problem to plague the team all year long. The former marketing executive, installed as Expos president in 1986, has been trying to find a major league suit. At that time, Bronfman and his two company partners, Montreal businessmen Leonie Weisberg and Hugh Halward, announced that

under negotiation. Additional revenues are also expected from television about \$25 million as the Expos' share from the U.S. network (the Red Sox, as well as the team's extensive Canadian TV contracts). As a result of the new arrangements, the Expos' gross prospectus projected profits of \$4.48 million this year, rising to \$6.6 million in 1991, \$8.03 million in 1992 and \$8.75 million in 1993.

Severed: Bronfman and his partners have further sweetened the pot for local Quebec investors by agreeing to designate the \$100-million selling price a Canadian currency. That effectively lowered the price to about \$86 million (U.S.), which is significantly less than the \$95 million (U.S.) that the National League is asking for expansion franchises. As well, expansion franchises do not already have established major-league sponsors, as the Expos do.

The combined effect of all of these measures appears to have whetted the interest of Quebec's business community. A group division of the *Confédération des entreprises et d'industries du Québec*, a group of associated Quebec credit unions, announced earlier this month that it was offering to acquire a 51-percent stake in the team. Jocelyn Potvin, president of the Montreal and western Quebec divisions of the federation, said that his organization was making the move "because we believe it's time to do something concrete and prove to Mr. Bronfman that there are people here who will consume."

Potvin predicted that about 15 other business groups and individuals would come join the effort, providing around \$75 million. In fact, the Quebec government has announced that it will lend up to \$30 million, through a Crown agency called the *Société de développement industriel du Québec*, to local investors in order to keep the team in Montreal. Said Bronfman: "The truth is, we're pretty darned encouraged now that the club will stay in Montreal and be sold locally."

Officials in the Blue Jays organization say that despite the huge crowds at their games they are avoiding complacency. "The pressure now is to repeat its phenomenal success," said Jays executive president Paul Bestwin. "We won't rest on our laurels because we don't think that's good enough."

But for now, the fans keep coming clearly because they believe that the Jays still have a chance—and that 2.6 million fans can't be wrong.

JAMES DEANON and HARRY CAINE with MORE ONDRASFOOD and DIANE KRASY



A SkyDome salute: 'gentle, graceful and endlessly fascinating'

the club was for sale for \$100 million, preferably—but not necessarily—to local investors who would keep the Expos in Quebec.

It has been a difficult task, largely because of the bleak nature of a franchise prospectus that the team circulated privately to about 30 potential investors. Prepared by the investment bankers Burns Fry Ltd., the document reveals that the Expos had accumulated losses of about \$42 million during the 21 years that Bronfman and his partners have owned the team.

In an effort to lure new owners, Brochu has taken steps to make the business more attractive. Early in September, the Expos signed a five-year, \$27-million sponsorship agreement with Labatt Breweries Ltd. and a similar two-year, \$10-million deal with Peco-Canada. Two other sponsorship agreements, with a soft drink company and an automotive concern, are



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SPECIAL REPORT

SUMMER DREAMS

CANADIANS ARE SHINING ON THE DIAMONDS

In the spring of 1988, a 27-year-old first-born Canadian released *Twinkles* started the major-league baseball season with high hopes—and huge shoes to fill. In right field for the New York Yankees, George Selig, from Hamilton, Ont., attracted immediate attention because he had taken over the position of the legendary George Herman (Babe) Ruth, who hit 714 home runs before retiring at the fall of 1935. Selig had led

were losing their skills in the minor leagues.

The officials who manage Canada's amateur baseball programs say that the increasing number of Canadians throughout the professional ranks reflects grassroots growth in the sport. William Martin, executive director of Ottawa-based Baseball Canada, said that an unprecedented 500,000 children aged 7 to 13 were playing organized baseball across Canada that year, up from 375,000 five years ago. He added

rough competition, a handful of Canadians have managed to rise through the minor leagues and survive in the majors. The most durable of the current group of Canadian major-leaguers is 34-year-old Terry Poff from Melville, Sask. He has spent his entire 14-year career with the National League's (NL) Houston Astros and has a respectable 250 career batting average (his .693 fielding percentage is an all-time record for NL outfielders). But because of a debilitating



Ducy (left), Poff's new training facilities and better coaching have improved Canadian's chances

more years in the minors, hit 108 home runs and played in six World Series and two All-Star games. Although he succeeded as eventual Hall of Famer, Selig was typical of the more than 250 Canadians who have played major-league baseball over the years. Most of them have been competitive professionals. Few have been genuine superstars. But there are signs that Canadians are beginning to make a bigger impact on the sport. This season, seven Canadians, five of them full-time, have been playing in the major leagues, said about another 30

that coaching, traditionally in short supply in Canada, is gradually being upgraded to meet the new demand in the sport. Despite those improvements, Canada's major-leaguers say that amateur baseball remains underdeveloped in this country. Said 26-year-old NL outfielder Ramon Saenz, an outfielder with the Texas Rangers: "I thought I was good until I went to school in California. My roommate there played in three summer leagues. It's a full-time sport for them."

Even though they have faced extremely

right shoulder injury, he has appeared in only 37 games this season and hit only 41 times.

Puffed: With Poff approaching the end of his playing days, attention is shifting to the younger Canadians in the majors. Keith McCaskill, a 25-year-old native of Kapuskasing, Ont., who once tried out for the National Hockey League's Winnipeg Jets, has been a starting pitcher for the California Angels for an season. As of Sept. 13, McCaskill's 3.61 earned run average (runs allowed per nine innings) was among the top 10 American League (AL)

What makes The only active full-time Canadian pitcher in the majors in 25-year-old Victoria native Steve Wilson, who is in his second season with the Chicago Cubs. Playing on a team that had a 68-76 win-loss record and that won 12 of its last 16 games in the west. Best: Wilson had posted a 4-8 win-loss record with an earned run average of 4.78.

Canada's other two full-time major-league pitchers are both outfielders. Remer, who was called up on June 2 from the Triple-A Oklahoma City Tigers, was hitting .277 for the Rangers, while Montreal Expos scout Larry Walker, 23, from Maple Ridge, B.C., was hitting only .237. But Walker had hit 18 homers in 14 of Sept. 14 and was just behind veteran first baseman Andres Galarraga and third baseman Tim Lincecum for homers among Expos batters. Scott Walker "I'm not conscious of being Canadian. But I came across another Canadian player, like McCutchen. I make a point of speaking to him."

On Sept. 1, when major-league teams opened their rosters to 40 from 25 so they can call up players from the minor leagues, the Toronto Blue Jays announced the signing of a year-old Canadian Out, middle-infielder Ducey from their Triple A team in Syracuse, N.Y. Ducey started seven games in left field in place of regular outfielder George Bell and promptly got nine hits in 37 at bats. Ducey also made several sparkling catches, which led some observers to conclude that he will be a strong candidate for a starting job with the Jays next season. Seattle, meanwhile, signed up Mike Gardener, a 24-year-old pitcher from Seattle, who had been spectacular with the Mariners' Double A, Whiteport, Penn. team. He led his minor-league debut on Sept. 12, 9-3 to the Oakland A's going up eight runs in 5-6 innings pitched.

Achievements: Baseball historians consider that 1941 was a landmark for Canada in the major leagues. Bruce Prickett, president of the Canadian Baseball Hall of Fame in Toronto, said that as that year, right Canadians were playing in the U.S. alone, including Toronto outfielder Selkirk, Cleveland Indians outfielder Jeff Heath was the most accomplished of the Canadians that year. A Thunder Bay, Ont., native, Heath compiled a .340 batting average, drove in 123 runs and hit 39 homers. Heath's hitting this season earned him a spot on the St. Louis Cardinals alongside two of baseball's greatest outfielders ever—the Yackies' Joe DiMaggio and the Boston Red Sox's Ted Williams.

According to Prickett, minor-league teams regarded Canada as an important source of talent from the 1920s through to the mid-1940s and regularly scouted Canadian junior

and senior leagues for recruits. But the shortening of minor-league professional baseball's color barrier in 1946, when Jackie Robinson joined the Montreal Royals, opened up two new pools of talent for major-league teams. They suddenly had access to players from the Negro leagues of the United States and the Caribbean countries. As a result, according to baseball historians, the amount of scouting and the number of players coming out of Canada both dropped sharply.

Subsequent: Prickett added that at the post-Second World War era, baseball in Canada also suffered because the hockey season became

sophisticated approach to the game, added Martin. Over the past 10 years, more than 32,000 coaches from across the country have taken instructional courses offered by Baseball Canada. Martin said that his association also operates a high-performance training center in Vancouver called the National Baseball Institute (NBI), and will be responsible for running the Academy of Baseball Canada, due to open officially on Sept. 27 in Montreal.

Launched in 1988 with the backing of the Blue Jays, LeBar's, Perry-Canada and Baseball B.C., the NBI provides financial support for 25 full-time players annually while they attend university or community college. From early September until mid-October, the players work on hitting, pitching and other basic skills for four hours a day, five days a week, and play a 25-game schedule against U.S. college teams. From November to January, they train indoors, and between February and May they play a 65- to 75-game schedule, open against American college teams. To date, seven players from the list have reached the American major leagues, including 25-year-old pitcher Devin Boscher, a Montreal native who is now regarded as a top prospect in the Blue Jays organization.

Overlooked: Despite the advancements in amateur baseball in this country, Canadian major-league players maintain that hockey still overshadows the American game. The Expos' Walker, who says that he initially dreamed of playing in the National Hockey League, recalls that he played about 15 baseball games each summer when he was growing up, but American youngsters, particularly in the southern states, play almost year-round. Scott Walker "I feel playing in Canada isn't really serious. It's nothing compared to the States."

Charles, Out, native Ferguson Jenkins, who played in the majors from 1965 to 1983 and was perhaps the greatest baseball player ever to come out of Canada, said that the sport should be played more in the schools in this country. Jenkins, who now lives on a farm in Alabama and will play this winter in Arizona in a senior league, said that teenage players in Canada should be playing 300 games a year if they hope to compete successfully against American and Latin American players. "I think you'll see more Canadians in the majors and the big leagues," but given Canada's passion for hockey, and their country's long winter seasons, baseball will almost certainly remain the great American pastime.

Along with increased equipment and participation, Canadians are developing a new, more

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progressively longer. As contradictions across the country had become more and more obvious, hockey could be played from September to April, which cut into both the start and the finish of the baseball season. But over the past decade, Canadians have rediscovered their passion for America's national pastime. Baseball Canada's Martin said that there has been "a dramatic rise" in the number of children playing baseball. He added, "We attribute that to the Expos' and Blue Jays' continuing the exposure of the game."

Along with increased equipment and participation, Canadians are developing a new, more



BUSH LEAGUERS

FANS ARE FLOCKING TO THE MINORS

The Medicine Hat Blue Jays, a collection of raw 16- and 18-year-old prospects with dreams of playing major-league baseball, had just defeated the visiting Cote City Pioneers from Pocatello, Idaho, by a score of 9-3. Rather than leaving the stadium, most of the 850 fans who had watched the Pioneer Baseball League contest on Aug. 9 stayed for the post-game show: a 90-foot-batting-caging contest. It featured 20 fans and 20 employees of radio station CKY lined up on opposite sides of the safety. Between them lay the object of their affections, which had been cut into 2½-foot sections and placed on an overstretch. For almost half an hour, members of the two teams took turns exiting. Blue Jays general manager Kevin Fontana declared the fans winners even though neither side finished its half of the batting. *Said Fontana:* "The fans really enjoyed it. We'll definitely do it again next year."

Although marketing and promotion are still considered essential to the success of minor-league baseball in Canada, team executives say the popularity of the game has soared in



Medicine Hat: still a precarious business

Playng ball: 90-foot batting cages and canal races are vital for success

recent years. They point out that there are now eight minor-league franchises in Canada, and that more than one million fans watched minor-league games in Canada this year (the regular season ended on Labor Day). Ottawa is holding for a Triple A franchise, and two Ontario cities, Kitchener and Brantford, have expressed interest in joining the New York-Penn. Empire All-League. And the game of tennis has degenerated. *Dennisman-Peter Paddington* recently sold his Edmonton Trappers, which compete at the Triple A level, for less than \$500,000.

Busted: According to some minor-league executives, the high public visibility of the American League Toronto Blue Jays and the National League Montreal Expos has boosted fan support for all levels of professional baseball in Canada. "It has opened the floodgates at every level," said Ellen Harnapp-Charles, general manager of the Class A-level St. Catharines, Ont., Blue Jays. Indeed, there are now Canadian-based teams on every rung of the professional hierarchy—including rookie league, Class A, Double A, Triple A and the major leagues.

But some observers maintain that Hollywood depictions of life in the minor leagues has helped create the current-wide surge of interest in the sport. B.C. native Allan Simpson, editor and founder of the loosely magazine *Baseball America*, which concentrates on the minor leagues, said that two popular baseball movies, *Bat! Dribble* in 1968 and *Field of Dreams* in 1989, rekindled the romance and nostalgia associated with small-town ball parks. Others say that the urgency of minor-league parks, combined with ticket prices that rarely exceed \$5 for adults, has made the game instantly popular. *Said Robert Gilson, general manager of the Double A, London, Ont., Tigers:* "Where else can you take the family, spend \$20 for an evening and have a great time?"

Triggered is not exact, minor-league baseball is now experiencing its greatest surge in popularity since the early 1930s. According to Robert Sparks, director of marketing with the Florida-based National Association of Professional Baseball Leagues Inc., the advent of televised sport triggered a huge decline in attendance in the United States last season for 25 years. Total attendance at minor-league games fell to fewer than 10 million in 1990 from nearly 40 million in 1969. Even as recently as 1975, attendance was little more than 13 million. Since the late 1970s, fan support has steadily improved. Last year, attendance officials say, total attendance exceeded 23 million.

Minor-league baseball in Canada has experienced the same slump and recovery. From the 1940s through the 1960s, Canada's three Triple A-level teams, the Montreal Royals and Toronto Maple Leafs of the International League and the Pacific Coast League's Van-

A king with no clothes is still a king.



Crown Royal



Redbird fans: the changing fortunes have made the ball clubs hot commodities

cover. However, served as the final stop in the apprenticeship of many players who eventually became stars in the major leagues. Second baseman Jackie Robinson became the first black to play major-league professional baseball when he signed with the Dodgers in 1946, and the following season he broke the color barrier in the majors when he joined the old Brooklyn Dodgers. Hall of Fame third baseman Brooks Robinson, a star with the Baltimore Orioles from 1969 to 1977, played 32 games in the 1969 season with the Orioles. Yet by the end of 1969, all three teams had folded.

Shoppers: Southern Alberta featured the revival of minor-league baseball in Canada when, in the early 1970s, the Los Angeles Dodgers put a Pioneer (Brookings) League team in Lethbridge. Within a couple of years, Pioneer League teams had moved into Medicine Hat and Calgary. In 1978, Vancouver rejoined the Triple-A team, now known as the Canadians. Since then, baseball fans in this country have witnessed dozens of players sharpen their skills in preparation for the major leagues. Oakland Athletics right fielder Jose Canseco toured

Canada's three Triple-A clubs in 1985 during his apprenticeship with the Tigers of Tacoma, Wash. Current Toronto Blue Jay catcher Pat Borders and Greg Myers, pitchers John Cerreto, Jeremy Kest and David Wells, and outfielders Jonny Peitz, Rob Dierzy and Giovinetti all started out in Medicine Hat.

Despite growing fan support and the presence of future major leaguers, most general managers say that marketing and promotion are vital to the continued success of minor-league baseball in Canada. Garry Ardour, general manager of the Triple-A Calgary Canadians, said that teams sell more tickets and advertising on the outfield fences. They sell sponsorships to sections of their stadiums, to games or even to entire seasons. They also sell so-called corporate rights, which companies buy the stadium for a game, distribute tickets, stage pregame softball matches and throw out the first pitches. Said Ardour: "The people who are operating minor-league baseball nowadays are much more marketing-oriented than they were in the past."

Some executives also rely on offbeat or

unusual promotions. While Medicine Hat's Pirates opened the 96-foot-birding night in early August, the Class A Hamilton Redbirds staged a camel race in part of an Aug. 30 doubleheader against the Blue Sox of Utica, N.Y. Redbirds sales and marketing director Anthony Torre said that the club rented two camels from a local farmer. A Canadian from a Yale Yolk's Sorely Robert managed to ride his camel around the perimeter of the diamond. But the other animal bolted, and team trainer Robert Harbison, who had dressed up like an Arab for the race, had to run along behind it. Torre said that promotions like the camel race have contributed to the Redbirds' box-office success. The club drew 74,544 fans in 35 games this year, up from 61,154 in 1989.

Pitched: With their changing fortunes, minor-league clubs have become hot commodities. In addition to Robinson's and Borders' interest in joining nearby Hamilton, St. Catharines and Windsor, Ont., in the New York-Penn League, Ottawa is competing with as many as 24 other cities for a Triple-A franchise, and its bid will be reviewed at a meeting of the Triple-A expansion and realignment committee from Sept. 22 to 24 in Toronto. The Braves bid is supported by Mayor James Durrell, who has pledged to build a 16,000-seat stadium that would cost between \$16 million, if it has a grass playing surface, and \$21 million with an artificial surface. Jeffrey Fowler, the mayor's director of communications, said that businessman Howard Dwyer, co-owner of the Ottawa 67's junior hockey team, is prepared to buy a Triple-A franchise for up to \$5.6 million.

As the demand for franchises has grown, owners have been able to sell for premium prices. Vancouver Canadians president Norman Seagraves said that the Rockies Club, the owner of the team, has received a serious offer for the club. But he would not discuss negotiations that the offer is from a Tokyo-based company for \$5 million. Similarly, Edmonton Trappers president and general manager Mike Kornichuk has refused to disclose how much New York City businessman Michael Nickolan paid for the team.

Refused: Kornichuk said that he advised Nickolan to accept Nickolan's offer because the team was just barely profitable; he said that the Trappers averaged crowds of 4,800 per game this year but had a new stadium, which the club refused to build. As well, the Trappers had high-level expenses because the team played in such distant locales as Albuquerque, N.M., and Phoenix, Ariz. Kornichuk said that the new owner was expected to move the team to Memphis, Tenn., where a larger stadium and lower travel costs should make larger profits. However, he said community efforts to keep the team in Edmonton may prevent the franchise. But, for Canada's growing legions of baseball fans, the loss of the Trappers is a stark reminder that the professional game is still a precarious business in some parts of the country.

JAMES DRACON with NORA UNDERWOOD in Toronto



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PEOPLE

BROKEN ENGLISH

French-Canadian actress Julie St-Pierre, who speaks little English and who had never been in a movie before, said that she was surprised when she was hired to star in last month's Montreal Film Festival hit *Falling Over Backwards*. "And then the reaction in Montreal was very good with a lot of laughter," said St-Pierre, 27. She added that she was grateful for the help of her sister, Genevieve Saint-Robert, who plays her on-screen persona. Decided the Montreal natives: "Though the script for me was in English, at least it was written in the English of a Québécoise."

St-Pierre surprises and 'a lot of laughter'

Warm memory

The 1988 movie *Twin from the Couch* inspired by Whiting director Guy Maddin, became a cult favorite in Toronto and New York City. And last week Maddin received more critical acclaim, after showing his second official feature *Amateur* at the Toronto Film Festival. Maddin, 34, said that he may have gone into movies because of a childhood incident. He added: "At 6 or 7, I saw President Calhoun's assassination up fairly to using Crosby. He gave me a ride on his shoulders. Even now, I remember the feel of those frames, but now on my 30th, I wish it really influenced me."



Maddin: The feel of those big ears

TALKING ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT

Newington actress, author and social activist Sherry Glendon says that she likes to work in movies that are political. "I feel I'm not just putting on makeup and leaving the film," she said. In *Windwalk*, which opened at last week's Toronto Film Festival, she plays a physician concerned about the environment. Said Glendon, 31, who is a goodwill ambassador for the UN: "This is not a normal feature—people who really care about environmental issues come together and talk. But if they can show films like *Remain*, they should show this."

DEFY VIOLENCE

Canadian actor R. H. Thomson says that he is deeply disturbed by the prevalence of violence in modern movies. But he also said that his latest movie, *Defy Gravity*, in which he plays an abusive husband and father, is "not about violence as entertainment, not about violence without consequences." *Defy Gravity* is Canadian director Michael Gibson's first feature-length film, which he also produced and wrote. Said Thomson: "It has a unique slant. Gibson is a strange young filmmaker. His film is violent, but there's no violence onscreen." He added: "I play a very violent person, and yet the film is funny." But Thomson, 43, asserted that "it's no fun to be violent." He added: "Those who do find it fun are either playing hockey or in jail."



Quamington, an open-swinging hockey player

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MATTHEW MODINE



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The 'silent killer'

Canadians are waging war on illiteracy

In early 1988, B.C. literacy-product agent MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. assigned plans to upgrade its Mexican woodmill and Mexican workers as new equipment. Bryan Kingston, now 34, says that for him, the assignment was eye-opening. Although he had worked for MacMillan Bloedel for 13 years, he had never told his supervisors that he was functionally illiterate and could barely read a phone book. Kingston says that he attributed much partly because he assumed that he would find a company retraining course and lose his job. After he recovered from shaking his wrists with a knife, Kingston enrolled in a literacy upgrading program, which helped him to get through a screening program for a lower level job, although he has yet to qualify for his old job as an electrician. Since then, Kingston has become an outspoken advocate of programs to promote literacy. In mid-September, he completed a five-month cross-country tour during which he spoke to hundreds of employers and workers. "Illiteracy is a silent killer because most people are too ashamed to admit they need help."

In a year that the United Nations has dedicated to the promotion of literacy around the world, Statistics Canada estimates that about 3 million adult Canadians lack basic reading and math skills. As functional illiterates, they have great difficulty reading newspapers, phone books or even street signs, and would be unable to understand a job application. And according to a 1984 study by the independent Business Week Force on Literacy, the lack of reading and writing skills costs the Canadian economy at least \$10 billion a year in lost productivity and training costs. As a result, business and labor organizations have launched an unprecedented series of programs aimed at improving literacy among workers. Says Paul Jones, publisher of Toronto-based *Canadian Business* magazine and president of the now-defunct business task force: "We have a serious literacy problem for an industrial nation."

Although business, labor and academic spokesmen say that they agree on the magnitude of the problem, they vigorously debate the causes. Alexander McKelvie, president of the Toronto-based Retail Council of Canada, says that many retailers blame the school system. He said that merchants frequently have young adults just out of school and discover that they cannot read instructions or must change property. Another frequently cited cause of illiteracy is the dropout rate. According to 1987 figures, in high school attendance from Statistics Canada, one-third of all students leave

school before completing Grade 12. Ron Jones, a linguistics professor with the Centre for the Study of Adult Literacy at Ottawa's Carleton University, added that high-school dropouts frequently take low-skill jobs and avoid reading and writing. He said that they can become functionally illiterate because their reading skills decline over time.

But some experts trace the roots of illiteracy



Kingston with his children, Amy and Peter: many are 'too ashamed' to seek help

beyond the classroom to an individual's family background. Marc Gussman, an associate professor of education at Memorial University in St. John's, Nfld., said that studies have shown that students acquire reading skills faster if their parents read to them as preschoolers. Indeed, the Toronto-based newspaper chain Southern Inc. conducted a national literacy survey in the fall of 1987 and discovered that children are much more likely to be literate if they are raised in a home where there are books, magazines and newspapers, as well as a dictionary and a typewriter or word processor. Adds Gussman: "If parents can afford to provide books, the child has a much better chance of learning to read. You have to help the illiterate parents to really break this cycle."

Many employers maintain that eliminating illiteracy will be difficult, if not impossible, because most workers are reluctant to admit that they cannot read or write. But Gary Johnson, vice-president of human resources at MacMillan Bloedel, "They feel illiteracy far more personally than finding their substance abuse or other workplace issues." He added that many illiterate workers will ask their spouse or a fellow employee to read manuals or other work-related material and convey the information to them. He also pointed out that some workers will decline a promotion because they fear that a more responsible job will require reading skills that they do not possess.

Despite all the difficulties, both business and labor leaders say that they agree that Canadian workers must improve their literacy skills in order to compete in the future. Alan Desmarman, chairman of Toronto-based Noranda Forest Inc., said that his company is working with its unions to establish a voluntary literacy

program for employees. He added that workers must be able to read detailed and complicated manuals in order to operate equipment. As well, the company must spend more time training workers with poor reading skills, he said. Brenda Adams, manager of national media relations with Canada Post, said that the Crown corporation is launching literacy programs for employees in Montreal and Toronto. If they are successful, the programs will be available to employees across the country. Says Adams: "For us, so much is dependent on the written word. Our employees have to sort letters, and manuals and work computers." Clearly, the handwriting is on the wall.

DIANE BRADY

THE WALL TUMBLES MEECH FAILS IRAQ INVADES MOHAWKS FIGHT MANDELA TOURS BILINGUAL BATTLES HOUSING CRISIS FAILING SCHOOLS AILING HEALTH CARE SUNDAY STORE WARS STARR FALLS BEN RUNS



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MEDIA WATCH



Tilting the balance away from objectivity

BY GEORGE BAIN

It's an old story, from the time of the state of Israel's just coming into being, that the editor of a New York City newspaper sent a reporter to cover the fighting between Jews and Arabs with one instruction: "I want you to approach this assignment with complete objectivity. But bear in mind that we don't have many Arab readers." At that time, objectivity in news reporting, as distinct from frankly sponsored editorials and columns, was the supposed nirvana of journalism. If the practice sometimes slipped, it was still considered necessary to give the policy to service, as in the case of our New York editor. But even then, objectivity was being demanded here and there as an responsibility. Nonreporters, it was argued, could check the influences of a biasness so as to approach any subject free of all biases, feelings or loyalties. The question is not whether that was true. It was but whether it warranted giving up the attempt.

From the beginning, but particularly after the army went in, this summer's Mohawk massacre has been reported with a general bias towards the natives in the national media. More than that, Mohawk news of those on the other side, relayed through reporters, have colored much of the reporting. Naturally, given that tilted perspective, the governments of Canada and Quebec, the *Sûreté du Québec* (the provincial police) and the army have not fared well. It is questionable that the *Sûreté du Québec* has deserved better. However, the same is not true of the two governments—the Mohawks have not been easy to deal with—and, more so, of the army.

When objectivity in news reporting went out of fashion, it was replaced by a doctrine of fairness and balance. The terms were intended to imply that, while coverage of an event or issue need not be neutral in its probable effect on the reader's or viewer's mind, it should give fair representation to both, or all, sides. Balance was not weighed heavily on the minds of some reporters who evidently came to the summer's events predisposed to the Indians' (soldiers). From the record, the army, having said at the onset that it would not fire the first shot, it seems as though they have been on trying to justify legal murder that it has on resulting provocation to create martyrs.

What has made the perceptible slant odder is that what Canada has seen this summer has not been overt discrimination at the request of Gendreau or Martin Luther King, but an execution, defined as a killing in arms against civil authority. Neither is there a resemblance to the last killing of troops and the prosecution of the War Measures Act in October, 1955. Those actions were taken on the excuse of an "unprovoked assassination" of which no persuasive evidence was offered then or later. What did exist were two superficially related civil crimes—looting—which the Quebec attorney general and the police had both jurisdiction and capability to investigate and prosecute under the Criminal Code. Their use of the kidnapped men was considered subsequently does not alter the civil nature of the circumstances—and, in any event, the murder occurred only after the army was called out and the War Measures Act invoked.

A first possible, and likely, explanation of the bias noted is simple sympathy with a native population that has not had a fair shake. However, claims of guilt on that point are shared to some extent by many Canadians, and perceptions of a higher sensibility do not really make a sound basis for good reporting. Also, a question arises in the mind of some: some automatic weapons constitute an acceptable means to the desired end of producing accelerated negotiations on such large, large questions as sovereignty and land claims, what would persons of the higher sensibility say a government could say so to those organizations, without being accused of bias?

A further possible and likely influence towards partisanship in journalism and a journalist's weakness for color and drama. The Mohawk Warriors in their battle fatigues, with the head-dresses around their faces like the hawk feathers on a Native American's headdress, and their high-powered AR-45 rifles, with, here and there, a leather moccasins. And the nicknames—like, keeper, Spahemach, General, Murgie, Bullpen, Smokeyman, Chommes, Winnet, Splinter, Lashings, Blackhawk, Mad Jap and all the rest. Colorful stuff, that.

Finally, what has become a characteristic of much Canadian reporting, much more noticeable here than in the British or American media, is the influence of a romanticized piece of journalistic folklore, expressed first in London's *Punch* and later in the *Star* as "Our role is to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable." Translated into recent Canadian journalistic practice, what that means is that any person, or body of persons, with a grievance is afflicted; therefore to be comforted. As the redneck of all groups is seen sympathetic to be in the hands of counterforce, which is by definition complacent, therefore comfortable, it is the mark of courage, hard-earned journalism to afflict it in all circumstances and on all occasions. It puts a ball of a strain on our and balanced.

side or quickly developed an affinity. Some reporting has been so closely slanted as to discredit itself. The *National* on CBC TV, on Sept. 6, carried a report which described a "blooming match" between a Warrior and a soldier. The tape behind the reporter's own words. What viewers saw was a Warrior pushing a soldier in the chest, pushing him again into the water, challenging him to drop his gun and fight, and walking off without a second thought. The soldier did nothing.

A few days earlier, a Warrior had walked to the banner, angled at a soldier, taunted and threatened him, and, having provoked no response, turned away with a war whoop and hand to his forehead. Despite the heavy media bias towards the Mohawk side, all of the reported talk of killing and dying has come from that side—"They're cracking for the kill." "When you're right, you're right, and you're not afraid to die." "Before I die, I'm going to take out 50 of you

THE REEL THING

TORONTO'S FILM FESTIVAL UNWRAPS A PARTY PACK OF BIG STARS AND A TREASURE TROVE OF GOOD MOVIES

The guests were in top devouring the food—fresh oysters, sizzling pig, roast pheasant, rack of lamb, salmon, pie, pluck, cakes and crispies—then noticed the commotion at first. High above them, on a balcony framed by a Gothic arch in the University of Toronto's Great Hall, two men in medieval dress were engaged in a sword fight while a damsel screamed to track distress. The clasp of sabres rang through the hall as the swordsmen fought their longest. They wound. They won. They did acrobatic flips. But the din of the crowd's conversation did not let up. Heads turned—then the guests went back to the feast, and to the business of sipping each other if they had seen any good movies. It was just another night at Toronto's Festival of Festivals (Sept. 6 to 15). And the lavish party, staged last week to celebrate the North American premiere of the French movie *Cyranus de Bergerac*, was just one more course in a 39-day cinematic feast.

The annual festival is arguably the most important in North America and certainly most festive. Each year, it competes for the spotlight with the real Montreal World Film Festival—both are larger than any other festival in Canada or the United States. But after Montreal presented a relatively unexceptional program during its Aug. 23 to Sept. 3 run, Toronto matched its 12th anniversary with an exceptionally strong lineup of movies and stars. Comparing the Toronto festival with the upcoming New York Film Festival (which starts Sept. 21, American critic Roger Ebert said, "The Toronto festival is much bigger and better organized.") And Jean-Pierre L  audine, who wrote for the Paris-based newspaper *Le Figaro*, declared, "It's full of diversity and quality. At the same festival, you get the big shots from the United States and the interesting films to discover."



Berenson, Eastwood: a festival with a reputation for diversity and quality

This year, the stars in attendance included Clint Eastwood, Martin Berenson, Lisa Minick, Dennis Hopper, Whoopi Goldberg, Jeremy Irons and Quincy Jones. And the festival presented world premieres of new features by some of the most respected independent filmmakers, including two directors whose movies dominated last year's Oscars: Australian Bruce Berenson, the lead behind the wheel of *Driv-*

ing Miss Daisy, and Martin Scorsese, whose mother passed from death a black man sad, raging, dignity from servitude; Indiana Jim Stoen, who made the redemptive *My Left Foot*, explored the historic agony of the Irish peasantry in *The Field*; British Stephen Frears, who made 17th-century wilderness stylings with *Dangerous Liaisons* (1988), explored deception from a more contemporary

angle in *The Grifters*, a story of Los Angeles sinners. As with the renowned American veteran Robert Altman, unveiled his first large-scale movie in a decade, *Premonition* and *Thelma*, an engaging saga about painter Vincent van Gogh and his brother.

Meanwhile, Canadian films made a strong impression. The newspaper selection, *Perfectly Normal*, Yves Simonsen's charming comedy about beer, hockey and apes at work; a class Ontario, launched the festival on a buoyant note. A number of movies that had already drawn acclaim at the Montreal festival reported their success in Toronto—*One Minute Miracle* (An Imaginary Todd, Quebec director Marc-Aur  le Fortin's severely surreal fantasy of joy and nonsense, so *Presence in Earth*, a realistic and heartwarming drama about a summer camp for children with cancer by National Film Board director Glen Weldon.

But the Canadian offering that became a monumental favorite was *The Company of Strangers*, a daring and original movie about seven old women marooned in the Quebec countryside when their bus breaks down. A drama crafted with documentary techniques, it employs a cast of nonactors who simply play themselves. Its director, the son's Cynthia Scott, arrived in Toronto fresh from her triumph at the small influential Venice Film Festival, where her movie received a rare standing ovation at its screening for critics the previous week. A review in the Paris newspa-

per *Le Monde* declared: "You'll adore these old women. Scott portrays their lives with remarkable tenderness and sympathy."

One of the most exciting American movies at the festival was another first feature directed by a woman using innovative documentary techniques. *Follow Up: The Laws of Gravity* (seen in an introductory selection of the American masters, from his early days playing jazz trumpet with Duke Ellington and Charlie Parker to his later role as record producer for such singers as Frank Sinatra and Michael Jackson



Scene from *The Company of Strangers*: "remarkable tenderness"

Director Ellen Wexler used the footage into a mesmerizing collage of sounds and images to create a comprehensive and candid portrait of her subject.

Biographical content was oddly prominent in the festival's program—and not just in docu-

mentaries. Characters portrayed in feature films include legends like James Earl Ray, Blasco, former attorney-general suspect Chas. W. Bulow, Polish Holocaust martyr Janina Karcuska, Canadian helicopter surgeon Norman Bellamy, the van Gogh brothers and another set of brothers, the Kray twins, notorious British thugs who are serving life sentences for murder.

In *Witch Hunter*, *Black Mirror*, Eastwood portrays a thinly disguised version of Hinton. The story is based on the filmmaker's quest to kill an elephant while waiting to film *The African Queen* (1952) with Humphrey Bogart and Katherine Hepburn. Shot on location in Nigeria, the movie hinges completely on Eastwood's performance, which is amazing. The actor-director shows clearly on film of character to attempt a barbaric and unconvincing impersonation of the catenarian Hinton.

Berenson's *Winter Journey*, based on the 1959 novel by Joseph Conrad, is another movie set in colonial Africa. Hinton, in fact, had tried for years to film the novel—which features a black hero—but was unable to because the studios did not allow blacks to take on lead roles. Starring as Mr. J. J. Johnson, a resourceful clerk who runs a local British outposts, Nigerian stage actor Maxwell Essaka delivers an extraordinary performance. But the movie's beauty is in the music, which is colored like a *Naxos Geographic* soundtrack, tends to soften its impact.

In a more contemporary vein, *Renewal of*

VOICES IN THE WILDERNESS

THE COMPANY OF STRANGERS
Directed by Cynthia Scott

It is a hard movie to sell. *The Company of Strangers* is a story of seven old ladies who get stranded in a deserted farmhouse—only to escape two days later without having suffered any serious conflicts or surprises. The movie has little plot and no stars. The characters are played by nonactors. Although gilded in a fictional setting, they use their real names and reveal intimate details of their own lives. But, despite its use of documentary devices, *The Company of Strangers* unfolds as drama. It is a funny, poignant, and gently uplifting occasion into the emotional wilderness of old age. And it marks a triumph for feature film for its Montreal-based director, the

National Film Board's Cynthia Scott. The movie is the latest product of the NB's alternative drama program, which relies on improvisation by non-actors. Others have included *99 Days* (1987), director Glen Vail's comedy about a mid-order marriage, and *Shining in Lewis* (1988), a story about black teenagers directed by Scott's husband, John M. Scott. But none has worked as well as *The Company of Strangers*.

The fictional premise is actually simple. Seven old women are touring the countryside when their bus breaks down. With their driver, a younger woman played by Jean and gospel singer Michelle Stenney, they take refuge in an abandoned farmhouse. Reassuring themselves with whatever they can find in the wild, they reminisce about past lives and share their fears.

The film-makers considered about 400 women for the roles. The seven who were chosen, aged 69 to 88, include Alice Dubo, a Mohawk from the Kahnawake reserve near Montreal, and Mary Neely, a Jewish writer

who lives with multi-ethnic Quebec actor Marc-Andr   B  . The others are a nun, a former radio broadcaster, a writer dedicated to gardening, a retired sales clerk and a Liverpool-born woman who quit school at 14 to work in a tobacco factory.

In her gradually revealed testimony, to recitative and to the camera, the director creates a loving study of human mortality. Scott says that it was difficult persuading some of the women to participate in the movie, because they had trouble understanding why anyone would be interested in them. And after seeing the film, most of them found it hard to stop themselves: "I think they were expecting to see Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall," Scott said. But after all, she added, "they all said that it was the most wonderful time of their lives." And the magic that they experienced making *The Company of Strangers* becomes beautifully tangible onscreen.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Alvin, the son of Balow story, combines copied casting with a little dose of wit. The role of the shadowy mother suspect fits British actor Jeremy Irons like a white silk glove. Based on the book by son Balow's lover, Alan Denwarth, *Reveries* somehow dissolves the sensational case in which son Balow was first married, then acquitted of using potentially fatal poisons of murder his wife, Susan (Irene Cara), who had been in a coma since 1886. Savoring every scene, Irons plays an outrageously black-humored son Balow. And right to the end, the movie remains deliciously enigmatic on the question of son Balow's guilt or innocence. Irons and Cara, although he did not meet son Balow, he knew as he went mad whether he was guilty. "Yes, I did know," he said, "but I won't tell you."

In *Reveries*, Irons, from boy with the ambiguity of evil, seems familiar from his portrayal of twin gynecologists in *Dead Ringers* (1988). There is nothing subtle about the evil Irons in *The Reverses*. He is intelligent but viciously brutal. Thiller, it charts the sinister lives of Ragnold and Harold King, brothers who, unbeknownst to each other, are the evil twins in *The Reverses*. He is intelligent but viciously brutal. Thiller, it charts the sinister lives of Ragnold and Harold King, brothers who, unbeknownst to each other, are the evil twins in *The Reverses*.

By contrast, Robert Alton plays studies more benign brothers in *Vincent and Theo*. The movie focuses on the obsessive relationship between the impressionable Vincent von Gogh and his brother, Theo, an art dealer who sold only one of his brother's paintings while Vincent was alive. After working for the past decade on the sinister side of cinema work and the adaptations of plays, Alton returns to a large canvas with *Vincent and Theo*. The film, which features superb performances by British actors Tim Roth and Paul Rhys, unfolds with the literary, off-kilter style that has become Alton's trademark. He said there's an air of mystery that he wanted to define the lesser myths surrounding a famous artist. "I looked at it as the story of a failed person," he said. "He was like a hippie or a beatnik."

On the morning of the premiere, Alton sat on a pile of books and a pile of disfigured coffee in his hotel room and acknowledged that he was nervous. "You always worry about whether people will like your work," he said, faintly echoing son Gogh's own anxiety. Like many fine American directors, Alton has had trouble getting work in Hollywood. "I've tried

and we'll take several of their faces, and they're right," he said. "These movies that make over \$500 million—*Die Hard*, *Lethal Weapon*—I just don't know how to make them and I don't want to." Without the Hollywood machine behind him, he relies on film festivals for exposure. "You need something to get attention," he explained.

Festival movies tend to be more challenging than standard Hollywood fare, often tackling serious issues. Whoopi Goldberg visited Toronto to promote *The Long Walk Home*, about an upper-middle-class housewife (Sherry Seid) who ends up with her husband (Goldberg) during the 1965 bus boycott by blacks in Montgomery, Ala. (An odd reversal of *Driving Mr. Smith*, the white mother ends up chastising the black activist. *Home* but fairly accepted, a confident American means across the side existence of history.)

Some of the festival's European movies about justice are less heartwarming. German

by narrating story—seems barely in vogue. The festival featured two new movie-based on works by California pulp novelist Jim Thompson. *After Dark*, *My Sweet* and *The Grifters*. Both involve gritty tales of romance and betrayal—as does *The Hot Spot*, an audacious dirty game directed by Dennis Hopper. *Torrid* and *Torrid*, *The Hot Spot* stars a quirky scandal. Dan Johnson is a brother caught between two sexual strategies, a masculine tease and a sweet young libertine. *The Hot Spot* is recent, but it is hot.

Several Canadian movies at the festival display one more quality: If a low-budget first film by Toronto director Darrell Roodik, *Instinct* seems physically—and emotionally—astute. It is a cautionary story of two lovers trying to look a better future while locked in a basement apartment. It is too rough, raw and unsettling for the mainstream, but it features a stunning performance by Quebec actress Pascale Montpetit. Graphic

allegorical sequences lead up to *Le Party*, a drama about a baroque couple that goes from a raucous prison confession. Directed by Quebec filmmaker Pierre Falardeau, it is based on an event reported by former 1960 member Francis Simard while he was in jail during the 1970s. *Le Party* is impressive. But its crude realism fails to unlock the story's dramatic potential—and make the leap of both from life to art.

While *Reverses*, the new feature by Toronto director Patricia Rozema, takes the leap too far. Many fans of *Reverses* (1987) hit, *I've Heard the Mermaids Singing*, expressed disappointment in her new movie. Kate Nelligan and Stella McCartney play rival mothers in a child's murder and rape. The images are elegant, but the crime gets stuck in an overworld web of artifice.

While *Reverses* and Eastwood's *White Hunter, Black Heart* spent on the young women. The movies are utterly different but both suffer from too much imagination, rather than too little. Rozema and Rozema, the writers and the novel, both took risks. Although not everyone agreed that the problem past off, the movies provided the sort of debate that film festivals thrive on. As a midnight feast after the two premieres, the pitchy McCartney sat looking in conversation with the glossy Lisa Minelli—who were making a movie together in Toronto. Eastwood held court at the center of the table, a Hollywood elder statesman. Celebrity critics Ben Mendelsohn and Roger Ebert sat nearby. And as the writers served dessert, artistic issues of success and failure dissolved in the laughing glow of another festival night.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Barbara Amiel

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Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.

The Mossad's might

An Israeli ex-agent comes in from the cold

Because of its subject matter, it was bound to stir up controversy. But *Ry* King of Despatch, a new Canadian book purporting to detail the inner workings of Israel's intelligence service, the Mossad, has exceeded all expectations, starting up an international fire before even reaching bookstores shelves. Claiming that the book's publication would endanger the lives of Mossad agents, the Israeli government succeeded in convincing the Ontario Court of Justice last week to temporarily stop the book's publication in Canada. Lawyers for Toronto-based Shocken Publishing Co. Ltd. planned to challenge the ban this week. Meanwhile, Israel appeared to have abandoned attempts to block the book's release in the United States after a temporary injunction, rescinded the following day, was imposed last week on New York City-based St. Martin's Press Inc.

A number of observers expressed alarm about the spectacle. In the United States, legal experts said that it was the first time any foreign state had sought or obtained prior restraint on a book's publication. And Alan Berger, general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Association, said that the courts should not support suppression of the book unless Israel can prove that its release poses a real threat to lives. Saul Koreyev, "Judas" should look stupidly at the slanders made by states, because there's a tradition of confident embroilment with disingenuousness.

The book at the centre of the storm is the product of more than two years of collaboration between Ontario journalist Claire Hoy and Victor Ostrovsky, a former member of the Mossad now living in the Ottawa suburb of Nepean. In a letter dated Sept. 6, a Toronto law firm acting for the Israeli government warned Shocken that Ostrovsky possesses confidential information "which could have dire consequences for many people and governments every country it is wise to beware public." The letter also said that Ostrovsky, who was born in Edinacovsk, had resided in Israel, had formerly agreed, in writing, never to disclose any information about his work with the Mossad. Ostrovsky, a 46-year-old graphic artist and a father of three, went into hiding last week, explaining that he fears Mossad agents will try to abduct him and return him to Israel to face trial.

The order headed down in Ontario on Sept. 7 banned publication of *Ry* King of Despatch on Sept. 17, when the court was to hear lawyers' arguments on the issue. On Sept. 13, New York state Supreme Court Justice Michael J. Denton signed a similar order against St.



Ostrovsky fears that agents will abduct him.

Martin's Press and instructed the publisher to recall the 17,000 copies of the book that it had already shipped to U.S. bookstores. But by week's end, the appellate division of the New York state Supreme Court had overruled the ruling, saying that Israel's claims about the book's capability of providing living lives "have not been authoritatively supported." Roy Gersberg, president of St. Martin's Press, told Marlene's that he was "delighted" by the lifting of the ban, adding, "Prior restraint just isn't done here, and certainly not on the basis of flimsy evidence the Israeli government provided."

For its part, Shocken had originally intended to publish the book in Canada in early October, with an initial print run of 15,000. Said Shocken spokesman Angel Garmez: "We want the level of freedom of the press to apply. We don't think they'll spend a day on our right to publish, but it's not over until it's over."

The Ontario court order effectively prevented the publishers and editors of *Ry* King of

Despatch from publicly discussing the book's contents. But details of the book's more sensational allegations have already reached the news media. Several newspapers, including *The Ottawa Citizen*, where Hoy writes a regular urban affairs column, have reported that, according to the book, the Mossad learned in advance of a 1982 terrorist bombing that killed more than 240 Russian soldiers in Beirut but failed to issue warnings.

Meanwhile, Ostrovsky, who says that he served in the Mossad from 1984 to 1986, associated that two Mossad agents whom he had met in the agency visited his home on Sept. 5 and tried to talk him out of publishing his revelations, warning vaguely that it could be dangerous. Added Ostrovsky, who holds both Canadian and Israeli citizenship: "The less I said, the more I would follow up, but it's my teachers who are after me." However, An Pinner, Prime Minister Imrich Shalom's spokesman, told Marlene's in an interview that Ostrovsky's fear is "not based on anything we have said or done."

In Israel, reports of Ostrovsky's book have prompted harsh denunciations of the former agent. Declared Pinner, who said that Ostrovsky was merely a traitor in the Mossad: "He is a traitor. His book is an amalgam of lies and speculations based on very few facts." The *Jewish Week* Post quoted former friends of Ostrovsky's describing him as a arrogant who misled official reports. Israeli Radio reported that Mossad officials believe he was not worth for intelligence work. And former Mossad chief Imer Haril Meirad Ostrovsky to Meirad's Vassan, a former Israeli nuclear technician who leaked information about the country's nuclear arsenal to the *Israeli* press in 1986. Vassan later disappeared while in Rome and resided in Israel, where he was convicted of treason. Vassan, now serving 18 years in prison, maintained that he had been kidnapped by Mossad agents.

Both Shocken officials and co-author Hoy said they feared that Ostrovsky will suffer the same fate as Vassan. And they criticized Ottawa for what they call an insufficient response to the former agent's plight. A spokesman for Federal Solicitor General Pierre Cossette declined to comment on whether the government is investigating Ostrovsky's claims of harassment by his former employers. Said Hoy: "It makes you wonder what they're going to say if the Israeli kidnap him and take him back." Meanwhile, Yoni Givon, director of the Israel Government Press Office, says that his country is exploring legal options. Added Givon: "We have to see whether it might be possible to extradite him." Although a restraint for the courts to decide whether Canadians can read *Ry* King of Despatch, the book had already opened a saga of international intrigue.

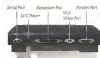
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ADVERTISING

Bucking a trend

Royal Trust mounts a daring campaign

With the advent of video cassette recorders and remote-control channel changers, television advertising has become a precarious business. To avoid losing the attention of viewers, commercials have become steadily shorter, and advertising agencies now routinely produce spots as brief as 10 seconds. But from Sept. 17 to 21, Toronto-based Royal Trust Corp. of Canada is taking a radically different approach to selling its financial services. The company has bought all the com-

mercial time on CBC's *The Journal* and CTV's *National News* in order to broadcast five-minute advertisements, which will be split into two segments dramatizing common financial problems. Said Alan Wiggins, president of Calgary's Hayhurst Communications Alberta Ltd., which designed the campaign: "It defies a whole new kind of advertising."



Scene from 'The Sister' making 'grown men cry'

mercial time on CBC's *The Journal* and CTV's *National News* in order to broadcast five-minute advertisements, which will be split into two segments dramatizing common financial problems. Said Alan Wiggins, president of Calgary's Hayhurst Communications Alberta Ltd., which designed the campaign: "It defies a whole new kind of advertising."

Royal Trust officials say that they hope the \$3-million campaign will double consumer awareness of the company and its products. Samuel Colerman, Royal Trust's managing partner of marketing, personal financial services, said that the ads will be split into two segments each 2½ minutes long. One segment will be shown during the body of the newscast,

the other towards the end. On each of the five nights, actors will portray Canadians faced with a different financial problem. One advertisement, called "The Will," deals with a mother and daughter trying to plan the disposition of the mother's estate. Another, called "The House," dramatizes the difficulty a man faces when trying to purchase his childhood home.

For Hayhurst, a relatively small agency competing against three major Toronto firms, winning the account was an unexpected victory. While the other agencies proposed 30-second to 60-second commercials, Hayhurst proposed longer ones that bordered on drama. The luxury of longer ads, Wiggins said, allowed them to build characters. He added: "You end up with an emotional endorsement. They have already made grown men cry."

Many industry observers have responded enthusiastically to the campaign. Paul Gordick, a professor of media writing at Sheridan College in Oakville, Ont., and a former director of an advertising creative team, said: "The media itself has changed. Nothing's sacred. And nothing should be." But changing the advertising format on *The Journal* required "delicate negotiations" with the news department, admits Adam LeMaster, director of TV sales in Toronto. Normally, those 30-second commercial breaks interrupt *The Journal*. LeMaster said that the network news department was initially reluctant to break from that routine in order to accommodate Royal Trust.

Still, Gordick, like Wiggins and others, says that he is uncertain whether longer, more in-depth ads are the wave of the future. For one thing, broadcasters may have problems retraining their format to accommodate advertisers' special demands. And agencies will clearly have a more difficult time creating longer ads that are consistently refreshing and creative enough to prevent viewers from changing channels—or from taking advantage of such formats to spend more time preparing late-evening snacks.

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Harvest of humor

Rural life inspires playwright Dan Needles

In an age of specialists, Dan Needles's checkered career stands out like a coat of many colors in a sea of grey serge. Over the past 20 years, Needles, 39, has edited a small-town newspaper, raised sheep, drafted speeches for politicians, worked as an insurance copywriter—and written some of the most popular comedies on the Canadian stage. His first play, *Letter From Wingfield Farm* (1984), is still touring the country with actor Rod Beattie in the leading role. This fall, Beattie takes *Letter*, the long-running one-man play in Canadian history, to Ottawa and other Ontario centres. And last month, Best Books published the work and its popular sequels, *Wingfield's Progress* and *Wingfield's Folly*, in a paperback volume.

Meanwhile, Needles's 10-character comedy, *The Perils of Persephone*, recently opened a second successful run at Ottawa's Blyth Festival, where it premiered to great acclaim last summer. The play's humorous portrait of a

farm community in conflict with Big Government has the sting of truth. Needles has experienced both worlds from the inside. "Dan knows his subject," said Katherine Kaszas, artistic director of the Blyth Festival, "but he never uses his knowledge to write from a position of superiority. He's a very warm individual, and that warmth permeates his plays. It's why we laugh so sympathetically at his characters."

The bespectacled, professorial-looking Needles lives with his wife, Beattie, and their two young children on a farm near Collingwood, Ont. "I like to get the sheep fed early, then get to work," he said, referring to his writing. Needles's scripts explore issues affecting the rural community, particularly the

threat that unbridled development poses to farmland and the farming life. In *The Perils of Persephone*, a truck believed to be carrying nuclear waste crashes on the Currie family property, located in the fictional community of Persephone Township. The provincial government's cynical solution to the problem—a small amount of radiation appears to have escaped—is to propose buying the farm and turning it into a toxic-waste dump. Yet the play avoids a simplistic condemnation of the government. One of the farm's co-owners, Elton Currie (Dennis Fitzgerald), is torn by the government's offer of \$1.4 million because it will allow him to pursue a high-powered political career. At the last moment, he renounces his loyalty to the farm and traditional rural values—but not before Needles has made it clear that his greediness is symbolic of the problems facing many farmers.

Born in Toronto in 1951, Needles travelled between the city and the country during his childhood. His father, Wilton Needles, is one of Canada's most respected Shakespearean actors. Needles recalled that his father was "away most of the time, following his career at the Stratford Festival." His mother, Dorothy Jane Golding—a children's playwright and creator of the

popular CBC radio program of the 1950s *Ringside*—of the *Air*—raised their five children in North Toronto. In the summer months, she took them to a farm near Rossmore, Ont. There, the children—then accompanied by city friends Doug and Rod Beattie, who would later direct and act in Needles's *Wingfield* trilogy—staged many of their mother's plays on the farmhouse lawn. "She took a lot of her subjects from the neighborhood around Rossmore," Needles recalled. "It was she who taught me how to grow up in my surroundings, be grateful."

Throughout his high school and University of Toronto years, Needles remained an interest in amateur dramatics. He also discovered he had a sharp tongue. "I found you had to be careful with humor," he said. "It was a quick way to lose friends. From about the age of 13, I kept a governor on my mouth." After graduating with an economics degree in 1974, he began two years as editor of the *Shelburne Free Press* and *Essex*, a small-town Ontario newspaper that he claims was desperate for help. "They found it I could spell 'Wednesday' and prove me the job," he said. It was at the *Free Press* that he invented the character of Walt Wing-



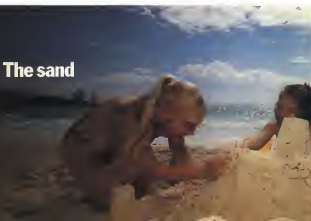
Scene from *The Perils of Persephone*: loyalty to traditional values

field. Needles wrote letters to the editor from Wingfield, in which the fictional stockbroker-turned-farmer rants on events in and around his backyard—the very sort of everyday happenings that fascinated Needles himself. Then, in 1976, Needles switched jobs, becoming five years as an executive assistant and speech writer for Ontario Conservative cabinet minister George McCapra. "I went as a Tory and came out an anarchist," he remarked of that period. Needles says that he came to deplore the adjectives that unbridled officials such as himself have on government policy

that he is through with the Wingfield saga. But he is working on a new stage play about a family enduring the traumatic passage of their farm from one generation to the next. "They can see the apartment buildings encroaching on the barnyard," Needles remarked, referring to the central conflict that has haunted all his work. As one who has lived in country and city—and loved them both—Dan Needles catches their antagonism with a wary but frequently amused eye.

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FILMS

Radio renegade

An angry adolescent steals the airwaves

Alan Myle calls his new movie "a sadomasochistic little rant for 15-year-olds." *Pump Up the Volume*, which the Montreal native wrote and directed, features the hot young Hollywood actor Christian Slater as a high-school moff who sets up a pirate radio station at his family's house (broadcasting a mix of loud, angry music and his own explosive-stories rants against the establishment) to become a counterculture hero to his classmates. Myle, 42, who is best known for the gritty Canadian features *Moonstruck* and *The Hidden Gen*, said that, while writing the script, he asked himself, "What would I have thought I was cool at 15?" But his harsh, defiant movie, which opens across Canada on Sept. 14, has proved unexpectedly popular with adults. In the spring, it won the Seattle Film Festival's most popular film award. And crowds greeted it with applause and cheers at last month's Montreal World Film Festival. Said Myle: "It talks like it, so be it."



Slater talks about suicide, sexuality

Most movies aimed at high-schoolers are sentimental comedies full of mindless sexual gigs, but Myle's drama tackles such tough subjects as teen suicide and homosexuality. "I haven't talked to anyone I respect who said that being a teenager in high school wasn't hell," said the writer. "On one of the characters who in the film, you have to get accepted, you have to get a date girlfriend, you have to figure out a next thing to do for the rest of your life. It's a nightmare." One source of inspiration was the journal that Myle himself kept while attending high school in Montreal. The diary, he said, was his release from the sucking frustrations of his teenage years.

Shot in California, the movie was a Canada-U.S. production, made for a relatively modest \$6.6 million. A few years ago, Toronto-based 20th Century-Fox, a company that usually makes horror and other types of B-movies—became interested in Myle's script. Eventually, 20 found a co-producer in Hollywood's New Line Cinema, an independent studio that scored a huge push-market hit earlier this year when it distributed *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*.

The target audience for *Pump Up the Volume* is too young to remember his Canadian-made pictures, which now seem acidic on the film-festival circuit. In 1974, he co-produced and acted in *Montreal Man*, a movie about an anti-photographer's relationship with a 14-year-old boy. Three years later, he directed and starred in *The Hidden Gen*, the story of a group of Montreal teens who learn to make a do-it-yourself street drug. But his first Holly-



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wood film was nearly his last. Times Square (1980), an \$8-million feature about two teenage girls who become New York City street kids, was a critical and commercial flop. Mykle left for an extended sojourn in Greece, returning only this year with Pump Up the Volume. Reached in Atlanta—where the filming of his screenplay Love Crimes, a drama starring Sean Young, is under way—Mykle promised to sell New Line for making a teen movie that is provocative. Like teenagers in real life, the actors revel in profane language. Sister's disenchanted character calls himself Happy Harry Hoo-Oh, and he pretends to masturbate on the set. In Canada, children under 14 cannot see it only if they are with an adult, but in the United States it received a "restricted" rating, which means that children under 17 cannot see it alone. "It was a tough call, but it was arguable that taking out all the bad language to render it PG-13 would dilute the message," said Mykle. Mykle described the movie's central character, Mark Hunter, as "the last angry young man on the planet." Soon after his family moves to an Atlanta suburb, Mark becomes a basement broadcaster with some amateur radio equipment. At night, he is the wild man of the suburbs—but, by day, he is a peacefully anti-masturbated, bespectacled youth who enters latch by himself in a school stairwell.

As his radio show becomes popular, the students try to guess Hard Harry's identity. City Nora (Shannon Mullen), the school's hostile artist-poet-in-residence, suspects him. Mark becomes the Dear Abby of his peers, reading the letters that students send him and giving on-air advice. But when he fails to take a student correspondent seriously enough, tragedy results. My-mistle, Mark and others discover the scandalous reason for their school's unusually high mark: the principal has been weeding out the underachievers.

Pump Up the Volume is a canny mixture of realism and wishful thinking that will likely prove extremely popular with teen audiences. The look in the movie really does sound like kids—whether they are sneering or uttering such melodramatic, self-pitying lines as "Being young is sometimes like not being dead." Truth is a kind of raging hormones and impetuous frustration. But like novel-of-the-week teen fiction, the movie presents nearly all of the adults as two-dimensional censors or villains. An over-the-top chase scene strains credibility, as does lead Mark's secret identity as the outgroupie Hard Harry Still. Still, Shuler gives a convincing performance, volatile and vulnerable by turns.

The movie presents high school in an extremely unflattering light. In an interview, Mykle said, "Don't get me started on the actual system, because the school system doesn't connect anybody who's slightly odd." But a moment later, he added, "I'm not saying 'Dropout of high school,' but I am saying 'Start to be smug as soon as you can possibly emerge from doing it.'" For anyone in the depths of teenage despair, that could be a liberating thought.

PAMELA YOUNG



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Stevenson, Jensen-Stevenson claim that Hushington turned its back on POWs

BOOKS

Soldiers of oblivion

Are American POWs marooned in Southeast Asia?

It is one of those books whose controversial publishing history threatens to overshadow the controversial content itself. Written by Canadian author William Stevenson (A Man Called Hushington) and journalist Monica Jensen-Stevenson, *Who Are the Boys Goodbye? How the United States Betrayed Its Own POWs in Vietnam* alleges that more than 2,500 U.S. servicemen and other personnel reported as missing in action (MIAs) during the Vietnam War may still be alive. According to the husband-and-wife team, those people are being held in prisons and re-education camps throughout Southeast Asia—chiefly in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. What makes the situation all the more tragic, write the authors, is the fact that successive U.S. governments have deliberately turned their backs on the men and their families by refusing to acknowledge their existence.

Such dramatic allegations of political conspiracy and cover-up in high places are the stuff of best-sellers. And three publishers are banking on the potentially explosive impact of the book. Toronto-based McClelland and Stewart, which published the \$27.95 book in Canada on Sept. 15, E. P. Dutton in the United States and Bantam Publishing in the United Kingdom, but the book's original publisher, New York City-based Bantam Books, terminated its con-

tract with the writers in January, 1986. Bantam senior vice-president and general counsel Herbert Dorson told *Maclean's*: "The manuscript that was delivered to us had substantial legal and editorial problems." According to Dorson, it failed, among other things, to report the location and identity of specific prisoners still being held in Vietnam and did not provide sufficient proof of a conspiracy by U.S. government officials to conceal that information. Added Dorson: "We were promised major newsbreaks on the story. They didn't materialize."

The authors responded to the Bantam decision with a \$600,000 lawsuit against the company alleging "bad faith." Jensen-Stevenson told *Maclean's* that the publisher had provided subpar editing, had taken too long to reach its verdict that the manuscript was "editorially unsalvageable" and had bowed to political pressure—including threats of *Raid*—to kill the book. Said Jensen-Stevenson: "What makes a publisher who was totally committed to a book, after all that support and investment, suddenly drop it?"

Bantam's Dorson rejects the charge that the fear of libel in itself caused her company to change its mind about the manuscript. "We publish a lot of books that might be considered legally sensitive," she said, citing *Kitty Kelly's* biography of Frank Sinatra, *His Big*

(1988), and Albert Goldman's *The Lives of John Lennon* (1984). Dorson maintained that the manuscript the authors submitted to Bantam was legally, as well as editorially, deficient. Said Dorson: "We felt we didn't have the information we would need to fight a lawsuit successfully."

Facing a lawsuit by Bantam to recover \$190,000 that the publisher had already paid them from a \$350,000 advance, the authors nonetheless took their manuscript to Canada's McClelland and Stewart in late spring, 1989. Publisher Douglas Gibson eagerly purchased world rights. Gibson told *Maclean's*: "We decided it was a story that deserved to be published."

Like most conspiracy books, *Who Are the Boys Goodbye?* is a tangle of fact and speculation that is certain to polarize readers. According to the authors, the United States has lied on the subject, more for several reasons. They argue that trying to bring home prisoners of war who have suddenly materialized after years of official denial could be a difficult—and even politically fatal—act for any American administration. They also contend that the government has misled investigations because they could jeopardize U.S. covert intelligence operations in Southeast Asia—which, the authors suggest, involve the illegal sale of drugs and arms.

Jensen-Stevenson, the first-person narrator of *Who Are the Boys Goodbye?*, describes how the book grew out of a 15-minute documentary segment called "Dead or Alive," which she produced for CBC TV's 60 Minutes while she was a staff producer there from 1982 to 1986. The extraordinary public interest that followed its airing in December, 1984, convinced her to pursue the story and led her and Stevenson to sign a contract with Bantam—which had earlier published Stevenson's best-seller about the 1976 Israeli hostage rescue in Uganda, 99 Minutes at Katuba.

The new book's huge print run suggests that the publishers are confident they have a blockbuster best-seller on their hands. Gibson would not disclose how many copies McClelland and Stewart has printed, but he said that the numbers are "very healthy." Dutton, the book's American publisher, has shipped 15,000 copies of *Who Are the Boys Goodbye?* to bookstores in the United States—an unusually high number. But the lawsuits between the authors and Bantam, combined with the highly controversial content of the book, mean that both money and professional reputations are at stake. Gibson said that he is well aware of the potential for legal difficulties. "We have to leave the matter very carefully settled," he said. "We've done that."

The most important verdict rests with the people who really count—the book's readers. The response of journalists and historians, of conspiracy theorists and Vietnam War buffs, will help determine whether Bantam, and McClelland and Stewart, invited, a major embarrassment—or whether one publisher inadvertently helped another to one of the success stories of the 90s book season.

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Rolling the dice to the Senate

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

There are different stages in the lives of politicians. In the first stage, in the classic stage, the new politician in power tries to do as much as possible to benefit all mankind or the drawing board, and the future is uncertain. Conspicuous in a word not in the dictionary, and patronage is an attitude that will never be taught. This is the stage in which Bob Rae resides at the moment.

In the second stage, the scales fall off the eyes of the power-holder. To achieve his ends, he must cut and join his brave principles, copy up to this interest group and surrender to the blackmail threats of others. Life is not so pleasant after all and the dark sides of the human soul become apparent and passions and old friends reveal him of the past promises of honey and doves.

In the third stage, complete despair sets in. Whatsoever he does is wrong. The satirists and applicants surrounding him find political debtors have his life now full of drama. He sees no way of escaping criticism and therefore throws up his arms and surrenders to the most brutal, violent acts of decision-making.

This is the Brian Mulroney of the John Buchanan moment, embracing cynicism to his bones like a warm blanket—defying most anyone of any sensitivity with a white-bell attitude. The first Prime Minister in history whose popularity in the polls is lower than the interest rates has decided that things can't possibly get any worse.

Flood of the damn the torpedoes approach is that the PM did not once try the usual play involved when embarrassing appointments in the Senate are made. That is, wait until late Friday before a long weekend where the Ottawa press gallery is deserted and have his remarks spontaneously slip a tone press release into the "I" bucket.

This one was actually done in broad daylight, rather like a bank robber walking into the Toronto Dominion at high noon with a raised shotgun and no mask. The boy from the Gambia, let of March "rolling the dice" here,



has decided to go out with his gambling hand being, the theory being that he plays some legal Times with a reward to a party faithful that he will offend none-Tories.

He's wrong, of course, but it's his office to lose and he's decided to go while thumbing his nose at all those voters who put him there. It's a smart point who looks more shrewd? Buchanan for desperately facing his premier's chair while under an RCMP investigation or Mulroney for appointing him. Only one thing is clear: Mulroney is the one of the two who must lose the electronic age.

Mulroney, raised in a Quebec milieu where the then sprouting of Tories grew all their lives, arrived at the last Liberal patronage, has come a long way since he was being John Turner in 1984 on the closely held issue. Party hacks and lobbyists and defeat are the usual material stuffed away into the Senate, where they can sleep their remaining years

away. But Mulroney, with Buchanan, has broken new ground.

A sitting premier, fearful of the voters getting it hot? A man under investigation, waiting for the cops to go through his desk? This opens all sorts of possibilities. Does Don Getty find a little nervous with the Reform Party breathing on his shoulder? The precedent is now set. What about Bill Vander Zanden now that he has made himself rich by selling his cattle and has them park in Toronto billions? The Senate could be his just reward. They would deserve each other.

There must be a lot of card-carrying Conservatives in the land, given the law of averages, who are having a little trouble with the law and would enjoy a rest home in case the law was turned up. It is not to suggest there are not a number of Grits in that same category, given the odds, but it is funny that the PM so clearly needs to get the car through.

The anti-patronage PM of 1984 has gone through an interesting metamorphosis since. In those early, postulated days, he was sending people out of his cabinet—Bob Coates, Steve Stevens—because they became so intensely involved with problems of legislation and ethics. Now he is welcoming into the fold a guy who is being examined by the harem.

It is, you will admit, a novel approach. The Senate becomes a repository, not for failed politicians but for those who suspect they soon will become failed politicians. As a result of that, the Senate becomes a reward, not for those who have led exemplary lives, but for those who are suspected of not having done so.

Mulroney and Buchanan thus will both go into the velvet-lined boxes, the new strong secured office for a safe retreat without being defeated, the other for getting him there. What does John Buchanan have on Brian Mulroney? Those red-hot baby pictures taken in the bath that every adult hates when your parents show them around? Or maybe a transcript of his marks when he took first year at Dalhousie law school before transferring to Laval?

There clearly is some hidden evidence here denied to those of us on the outside. We can only speculate, firm in the belief that a prime minister would not openly concede such decision without good reason.

Here is a leader, having moved through the first two stages of political education in obviously classic tradition, now clearly a strong example of stage three. You could guide him to do so, but he is an adult now. The voters plan to do so, but you very much.

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